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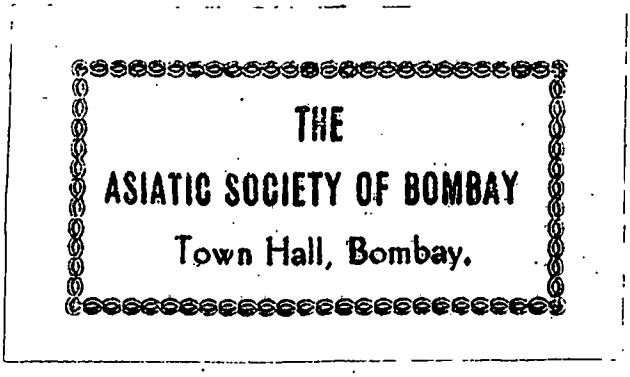

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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

WHEN I formed the plan of this work, it was my intention to lay before the Reader as much uſeful, authentic, and amuſing information on the ſubjects of the ſeven chapters of each book, as I could collect, without paying any regard to the proportion of theſe chapters to one another, in point of length. This, I knew, would be different in different ages, as the manners, circumſtances, and purſuits of the people of Britain changed. In that part of the fifteenth century which is the ſubject of the preſent book, both the Britiſh nations were more conſtantly engaged in war, theſe wars were more fierce and bloody, and produced more ſudden and ſurpriſing revolutions, than in any other period. This is the reaſon that the firſt chapter of this book is longer than that of any of the former books, in proportion to the other chapters, though nothing hath been omitted in any of theſe chapters that ſeemed worthy of a place in general hiſtory. I take no delight in deſcribing ſcenes of ſlaughter and deſolation, though ſuch deſcriptions may be uſeful, and on the preſent occa-

ſion were unavoidable. It was impoſſible to draw a faithful picture of our anceſtors, in thoſe unhappy times, without painting them in arms, deſtroying one another, or carrying deſtruction into other countries. I look forward with pleaſure to the ſucceeding periods of our hiſtory, when the ſword was oftener ſheathed, and the arts of peace were cultivated with greater aſſiduity and ſucceſs.

In diſcovering the truth, and forming the events of this period into a clear, conſiſtent, and well-authenticated narration, I have experienced ſeveral difficulties. Some of the events are ſo ſurpriſing, that they are hardly credible; others are involved in darkneſs almoſt impenetrable; and the information afforded by the contemporary hiſtorians is ſeldom ſatisfactory, often confuſed, and ſometimes contradictory. Whether I have ſucceeded or not, in ſurmounting theſe difficulties, is humbly ſubmitted to the deciſion of the Public. I ſhall only ſay, that I have attempted it, and that the attempt hath coſt me no little thought and labour, as well as time.

R. H.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The civil and military history of England, from the acceſſion of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, *to the acceſſion of Henry* VII. A. D. 1485.

SECTION I.

From the acceſſion of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, *to the acceſſion of Henry* V. A. D. 1413.

THE acceſſion of Henry IV. may be dated on September 30, A. D. 1399, when he was placed on the throne by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, in the preſence, and with the approbation of both houſes of parliament [1]. After a ſoothing ſpeech from the throne, which hath been already related, he adjourned the

A. D. 1399. Coronation of Henry IV.

1 T. Walſingham, p. 360. T. Otterbourne, a Th. Hearn edit. tom. I. p. 220.

A. D. 1399. parliament to October 9, that he might have leiſure to prepare for his coronation, which he appointed to be on the 13th of the ſame month, the anniverſary of his going into exile [2]. He was accordingly crowned at Weſtminſter on that day, by T. Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, with all the ancient ſolemnities, and ſome new ones of his own invention, admirably calculated to impreſs the minds of a ſuperſtitious people with greater veneration for his perſon and authority [3]. Thus, by a very ſurpriſing revolution, Henry duke of Lancaſter, ſirnamed *Bollingbroke*, from the place of his birth, in leſs than three months of an exile, became the crowned anointed king of a great and powerful nation.

Perplexities and dangers of king Henry.

Though Henry was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, he was neither ſecure in his ſtate nor eaſy in his mind; but, on the contrary, he was involved in many perplexities, and expoſed to many dangers. He evidently owed his elevation to a ſudden gale of popular favour, excited by compaſſion for his ſufferings; and he could not but be ſenſible that this might ſoon ſubſide, or take a different turn. Edward the black prince had long

[2] He commanded the ſword which he wore when he landed at Ravanſpure, to be carried naked and erect before him, calling it *Lancaſter Sword*, intimating, that he was determined to defend his crown by his ſword. The oil with which he was anointed (contained in a veſſel of ſtone, with a cover of gold ſet with diamonds), it was affirmed, had been brought from heaven by the Virgin Mary, and delivered to St. Thomas Becket, with a declaration, that the kings anointed with that oil would be great and victorious princes, and zealous champions of the church. However ridiculous this tale may appear to us, it is related by the contemporary hiſtorians as a certain truth.

[3] See vol. 7. b. 4. c. 1 § 5. Otterbourne, p. 220. Walſing. p. 360.

been the boaſt and darling of the Engliſh nation, A.D. 1399.
and his memory was held in the higheſt veneration. Richard, his unhappy ſon, was ſtill alive, and, in ſpite of all his errors, had many friends, who lamented his fall, and ardently deſired his reſtoration. Henry increaſed his perplexities and dangers, by the pride and jealouſy of his nature, which never allowed him to acknowledge that he had received the crown from the free gift of the people, by their repreſentatives in parliament, as a reward for having delivered them from tyranny, though all the world knew that he had no other title. He could not ſeriouſly pretend that he had conquered England, when he arrived in it with only eighty perſons in his company, and owed all his ſucceſs to the voluntary conflux of the people to his ſtandard; and though he hinted at the right of conqueſt when he claimed the crown, he was obliged immediately to diſavow it. Nor could he pretend to the hereditary right of blood; for that was evidently in Edmund Mortimer, the young earl of March, deſcended from Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter; and Roger earl of March, the father of that young nobleman, had a few years before been declared preſumptive heir to Richard II. by act of parliament. Richard earl of Cambridge, alſo one of the ſons of Edmund duke of York, who had married Ann, ſiſter of Edmund earl of March, conſidered himſelf as injured by the intruſion of Henry into the throne; Charles VI. king of France was greatly enraged at the depoſition of Richard

A. D. 1399. his ſon-in-law, and threatened vengeance; and the Scots waited with impatience the expected commotions in England, in order to invade it. Beſides all this, Henry lay under ſuch mighty obligations to thoſe who had eſpouſed his cauſe (particularly to the two powerful earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland), that he found it as difficult to ſecure the adherence of his friends, by gratifying their deſires, as to guard againſt the deſigns of his enemies.

Henry makes the parliament an inſtrument of fixing him on the throne.

Henry's wiſdom, courage, and good fortune, did not deſert him in this critical ſituation, and he purſued the moſt prudent meaſures for preſerving the prize he had obtained. The parliament which had depoſed Richard, and raiſed the duke of Lancaſter to the throne, had been called in the name of the firſt of theſe princes, but was entirely under the influence of the laſt, who therefore continued it, and made it the inſtrument of enacting whatever he thought fit to dictate. This obſequious aſſembly entailed the crown upon Henry and his deſcendants, without aſſigning any reaſon, or taking notice of the pretenſions of any other perſon [4]. It repealed all the acts of that famous parliament which met at Weſtminſter A. D. 1397, and at Shrewſbury A. D. 1398, though all the lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, had taken a ſolemn oath never to conſent to the repeal of theſe acts [5]. The earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntington, Somerſet, Saliſbury, Thomas lord d'Eſpencer, and William le Scrop, had been the great friends and conſidents of king Richard, the accuſers of

[4] Hall, folio 10, 11. [5] T. Walſing. p. 361. T. Otterbourne, p. 228.

the

the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, in the late parliament, and had received grants of the forfeited eſtates of theſe noblemen, and been raiſed to the higher titles of dukes of Albermarle, Surry, Exeter, marquis of Dorſet, earls of Glouceſter and Wiltſhire, as a reward for that ſervice. Henry, ſuſpecting them of a ſecret attachment to their former maſter, determined to humble and reduce them under his mercy, that he might either ruin them, or gain them to his intereſt. With this view he prevailed upon this parliament to deprive them of the titles and fortunes they had obtained in the laſt, and to leave them at his mercy as to their former honours and eſtates [6]. The parliament, having done every thing Henry could deviſe for fixing him firmly on the throne, was diſſolved. A.D. 1399.

To reward his moſt powerful friends, was one of the firſt cares of this wiſe prince. On the very firſt day of his reign, he conſtituted Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, conſtable, and Ralph Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland, marſhal of England; and a few days after, he granted the Iſle of Man to the former, and the earldom of Richmond to the latter [7]. In the diſtribution of favours, his own family was not forgotten; his eldeſt ſon Henry, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, October 15, and a few days after, duke of Aquitaine [8]. To the earls of Warwick and Arundel, all their eſtates and honours were Rewards his friends.

6 T. Walſing. p. 361.
7 Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 89. 95. T. Otterbourne, p. 224.
8 Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 91, &c. T. Walſing. p. 361.

A.D. 1399. reſtored; and on many others honours, grants, and offices, were beſtowed.

Courts the clergy and the people.

Henry, when he was earl of Derby, as well as his father the duke of Lancaſter, had been ſuſpected of favouring the opinions of Wickliff; but he now acted a very different part, and courted the favour of the clergy with the greateſt diligence, profeſſing the greateſt regard to their perſons and intereſt, and to all the ceremonies of their religion [9]. To give the people in general a ſpecimen of the difference between his government and that of his predeceſſor, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding all the blank bonds, called *Ragmans*, which had been extorted by Richard and his favourites, to be committed to the flames [10].

Sends ambaſſadors to France and Scotland.

When the internal peace of the kingdom, as he imagined, was thus ſecured, he bent his thoughts to avert the ſtorms which threatened him from abroad. With this view he ſent Thomas Skirlowe biſhop of Durham, and Thomas Percy earl of Worceſter, ambaſſadors to the court of France, with inſtructions to negotiate, if poſſible, ſome intermarriages between the two royal families, and by all means to prevent a war; to which the unſettled ſtate of that court, and of the king's health, who was ſubject to frequent fits of madneſs, contributed more than any arguments they could employ [11]. The Scots, expecting an invaſion of England from France, made an incurſion into Northumberland, took and deſtroyed the caſtle of Wark,

9 Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 96, 97. 101, &c.
10 Id. ibid. p. 109. 11 Id. ibid. p. 108.

and

and plundered the open country [12]. Henry, unwilling to engage in a war ſo ſoon, gave a commiſſion to the earl of Weſtmoreland, to enter into a negotiation with theſe troubleſome neighbours; and the Scots, diſappointed of the French invaſion, retired into their own country, and deſiſted from hoſtilities [13]. A. D. 1399.

But all theſe precautions could not prevent the plots of Henry's enemies; and a very dangerous one broke out in the beginning of this year. The earls of Rutland, Huntington, Kent, Saliſbury, and Glouceſter (though the two firſt were his near relations [14], and they had been all kindly treated by the new king), could not forget the eſtates and titles which they had received from Richard, and of which they had been deprived by Henry in the late parliament. To revenge this injury, as they eſteemed it, they held frequent meetings in the lodgings of the abbot of Weſtminſter; where the following plot was formed, for reſtoring Richard, and depriving Henry of his crown and life. They agreed to proclaim a ſplendid tournament, to be held at Oxford, January 3, to invite Henry to be preſent, and preſide at that ſolemnity; and appointed certain aſſaſſins to murder him, and ſuch of his ſons as were with him, when they were intent in viewing the diverſion. The king, who was keeping his Chriſtmas at Windſor, was accordingly invited by the earl of Huntington, his brother-in-law; and, dreading no danger, accepted of the invitation. When A. D. 1400. Conſpiracy againſt Henry.

[12] T. Otterbourne, p. 224. [13] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 107.
[14] Rutland was his firſt-couſin, and Huntington his brother-in law.

A. D. 1400. the day approached, the conſpirators came to Oxford, attended by numerous trains of followers; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to their ſcheme [15].

Diſcovered and defeated.

But on January 2, the earl of Rutland went privately to Windſor, and diſcovered the whole plot (of which he had been the chief contriver) to the king. Henry, knowing the treacherous character of the man, who betrayed every party with whom he was connected, heſitated for ſome time, and remained all the next day at Windſor in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe. At length being convinced of the reality of the plot, he ſet out in the evening for London. In the mean time the conſpirators at Oxford remained in great anxiety, expecting every moment the arrival of the king, and their accomplice the earl of Rutland. Finding they did not arrive, they concluded that their plot was diſcovered; and reſolved to attempt by force what they could not accompliſh by fraud, hoping to ſurpriſe the king at Windſor, where they knew he had but a ſlender guard. With this view, the earls of Kent and Saliſbury ſet out from Oxford in the evening, at the head of 400 horſemen, completely armed, and arrived at Windſor next morning, January 4, but found the king had departed the preceding evening [16].

The conſpirators puniſhed.

The conſpirators were greatly diſconcerted by the king's eſcape. Being joined by their accomplices from Oxford, they remained about Windſor

[15] T. Walſing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 224. Hall, folio 11, 12.
[16] T. Walſing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 225.

that

that day, and part of the next, giving out that king Richard had eſcaped from priſon, and commanding all his ſubjects to repair to his ſtandard. To procure credit to this, they made one Maudlin, a prieſt, perſonate Richard, to whom he bore a ſtriking reſemblance. Their army, it is ſaid, increaſed, but their counſels were diſtracted; ſome inſiſting on their continuing in a body, and others on their diſperſing. On a report that Henry was marching towards them at the head of 20,000 men, this laſt advice prevailed. The earls of Kent and Saliſbury, with their followers, directed their route to Cirenceſter, where the two earls were aſſaulted in their lodgings by the inhabitants, on the night of January 6, taken priſoners, and beheaded next morning; for which barbarous, illegal deed, Henry gave them a grant of all their ſpoils [17]. The earl of Glouceſter and lord Lumley were taken and beheaded by the populace at Briſtol; and the earl of Huntington, who had married lady Elizabeth, the king's ſiſter, was apprehended in Eſſex, committed to the tower, January 10, and five days after beheaded, with circumſtances of great cruelty [18]. Sir Benedict Shelley, ſir Bernard Brokes, and twenty-nine other knights and gentlemen, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Oxford, and others at other places [19]; a proper prelude to thoſe ſcenes of blood and cruelty which followed in the long conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, occaſioned by the fatal ambition of Henry IV. A. D. 1400.

17 Otterbourne, p. 225, 226, 227. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 130.
18 Relation de Priſe de Roy, p. 11. 19 Hall, f. 13.

This

A. D. 1400.

Death of king Richard II.

This conſpiracy precipitated the doom of the unhappy Richard. For Henry, finding that he could not expect to enjoy any tranquillity on the throne while his predeceſſor was alive, commanded him to be taken out of the way; and this command was executed, in the caſtle of Pomfret, February 13, A. D. 1400; but in what manner is not certainly known. His body was brought to London, the face uncovered, and expoſed to the view of all the people in every town on the way, and in St. Paul's church for three days, that all the world might know the certainty of his death [20].

Henry in danger of loſing his French dominions.

Henry had no ſooner eſcaped this dangerous plot at home, than he was threatened with loſſes and dangers from abroad. The late king Richard was born at Bourdeaux, and beloved by the inhabitants of the Engliſh provinces in France; who were greatly enraged when they heard the news of his being dethroned and impriſoned. The French court, taking advantage of their diſcontent, earneſtly ſolicited them to throw off the Engliſh yoke, and put themſelves under the protection of France; and theſe ſolicitations at firſt ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs. But when the paſſions of the people of theſe provinces began to cool, and they had leiſure to reflect on the different genius of the two governments, they wiſely preferred the mild government of a diſtant ſovereign to the tyrannical domination of a too powerful neighbour, whoſe ſubjects they ſaw moſt grievouſly oppreſſed. Henry

20 T. Walſing. p. 363. T. Otterbourne, p. 228. Hall, f. 14 Fabian, f. 166.

confirmed

confirmed them in theſe ſentiments, by beſtowing the places of power and profit on the chief noblemen of the country, and by ſending Thomas Percy earl of Worceſter, with a reinforcement of troops, to ſupport the well-affected [21]. A. D. 1400.

Expedition into Scotland.

The Scots preparing for an expedition into England in the ſummer of this year, Henry determined to prevent them, by invading their country with a powerful army. Having procured a large ſupply of money from the clergy and nobility in a great council, and collected a numerous army, he marched into the north, and arrived at Newcaſtle in the beginning of Auguſt. From thence he ſent a ſummons to king Robert III. and all the nobility of Scotland, to meet him at Edinburgh, Auguſt 23, to do homage, and ſwear fealty to him as ſuperior lord of Scotland; which, he modeſtly affirms, all the former kings of Scotland had done to all the former kings of England, from the days of Brute the Trojan [22]. To this ſummons he received a contemptuous provoking anſwer, from prince David, duke of Rothſay, who was then in the caſtle of Edinburgh; on which he marched forward, and beſieged that caſtle [23]. But he ſoon raiſed the ſiege, and returned into England, without having done any thing worthy of his mighty preparations.

Revolt of Owen Glendour.

Henry's haſty retreat from Scotland was probably owing to the intelligence he had received of a new

[21] Froiſſart, tom. 4. c. 56. Hall, f. 15. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 117, 118, 119. 141. [22] Id. ibid. p. 125. 152—157.
[23] Id. ibid. p. 158.

enemy.

A. D. 1400. enemy. This was the famous Owen ap Griffith Vaughan, lord of Glendoudwy, commonly called *Owen Glendour*, a gentleman of high ſpirit and great courage, deſcended from Lewellen, the laſt of the ancient princes of Wales. In his youth he had ſtudied the law in the inns of court, was called to the bar, and became eſquire of the body to Richard II. On the late revolution, he retired to his eſtate, and carried on a kind of petty war with Reginald lord Grey of Ruthyn, about certain lands to which each of them laid claim. Henry eſpouſed the cauſe of lord Grey, and iſſued a proclamation from Northampton, September 19, commanding all the men capable of bearing arms, in the counties of Warwick, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Derby, Worceſter, Salop, Stafford, Glouceſter, Hereford, and Northampton, to repair immediately to his ſtandard, to march into Wales to reduce Glendour who was declared a rebel. Owen, on the very day after this proclamation, burnt lord Grey's town of Ruthyn, declared himſelf prince of Wales, and was generally acknowledged as ſuch by his countrymen. Thus, from a private diſpute, a national war commenced, which continued ſeveral years[24]. Henry marched into Wales; but Owen retiring to the mountains, he was obliged to retire without ſeeing an enemy.

Negotiations with France. This whole year was ſpent in negotiations between the courts of England and France; the former ſoliciting a peace or long truce, the latter demand-

[24] Carte, vol. 2. p. 649, &c. Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 160. Walſing. p. 164. Otterbourne, p. 236.

ing

ing the reſtoration of the young queen Iſabella, widow of Richard II. and her fortune. When Charles VI. recovered from his fits of frenzy, preparations were made for invading England; when he relapſed, the negotiations were reſumed. Henry earneſtly deſired to retain the young queen, and procure her in marriage for his eldeſt ſon the prince of Wales. At length, however, a truce for thirty years was concluded, and the young queen reſtored [25]. A.D. 1400.

Henry called a parliament, January 20, A.D. 1401, which granted him ample ſupplies [26]. A marriage was negotiated, and at laſt concluded March 7, between Lewis of Bavaria, eldeſt ſon of the emperor of Germany, and the princeſs Blanch, the king's eldeſt daughter, with whom he gave a portion of 40,000 nobles [27]. A.D. 1410. Marriage of Henry's daughter.

While Henry was engaged in theſe works of peace, Owen Glendour, at the head of great bodies of Welſh, who now owned him for their prince, and crowded to his ſtandard, made inroads into the Engliſh borders, plundering the country, and killing many of the inhabitants. To revenge theſe inſults, Henry invaded Wales twice this year, in June and October: but to little purpoſe; the Welſh retiring at his approach, and renewing their incurſions at his departure [28]. In one of theſe incurſions, Glendour gained a conſiderable victory in Pembrokeſhire, which raiſed his reputation and increaſed his followers. War with Wales.

[25] Rym. Fœd. p. 145 153.
[26] Cotton, p. 405.
[27] Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 179.
[28] Vita R. II p. 174, &c. Rym. Fœd. p. 225.

Henry

A. D. 1401. A plot.

Henry was not only haraſſed by this revolt of the Welſh, but expoſed to the dark attempts of domeſtic traitors. By one of theſe he was in great danger of loſing his life, towards the end of this year. An inſtrument of ſteel, with three long and ſharp points, was concealed in his bed, that when he lay down one of them might run into his body; but he fortunately perceived it, and eſcaped the danger. The author of this plot could never be diſcovered [29].

A. D. 1402. War in Wales.

The revolt of Owen Glendour appeared more formidable than ever in the ſpring of this year. The Welſh ſtudents in the univerſities and inns of court, the apprentices in London and other towns, and even the common artificers and labourers, returned into Wales to join his ſtandard, in hopes of recovering the long-loſt independency of their country. Owen took the field early, engaged and defeated his ancient antagoniſt the lord Grey, and made him priſoner [30]. Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of March, collecting all the friends and vaſſals of that family, to prevent the devaſtation of their lands, made up an army of 12,000 men; with which he engaged Glendour, June 22, near Knighton in Radnorſhire; but was defeated, and taken priſoner, and 1100 of his men ſlain [31]. Though Henry was not ill pleaſed at the captivity of Mortimer, he was alarmed at the progreſs of Glendour, and iſſued a proclamation to all the military tenants of the crown, except thoſe in

[29] Walſing. p. 364. Otte bourne, p. 232.
[30] Vita R. II. p. 177, 178. [31] Otterbourne, p. 235.

the

the northern counties, to meet him at Shrewſbury Auguſt 27, to march with him againſt the rebels in Wales[32]. He divided his army into three bodies; gave the command of one to his eldeſt ſon Henry prince of Wales, of another to the earl of Arundel, reſerving the command of the third to himſelf. They entered Wales at three different places, to ſurround the Welſh army, and prevent their eſcape. But the Welſh kept on the mountains, and avoided an engagement; and the Engliſh armies were ſo diſtreſſed by the ſcarcity of proviſions, and inceſſant rains (raiſed, ſay the contemporary hiſtorians, by the necromancy of Owen Glendour), that they were obliged to return, without effecting any thing of importance[33]. A.D. 1402.

Henry's affairs ſucceeded better in another quarter, where he was not preſent. About Whitſuntide this year, rumours were circulated with great induſtry, chiefly by the Franciſcan friars, that king Richard was alive, had made his eſcape into Scotland, and would come from thence in a few weeks, at the head of an army, to recover his crown. Theſe rumours ſeem to have given Henry great uneaſineſs. He publiſhed proclamation after proclamation, declaring them to be falſe, and threatening death to all who dared to ſpread them; and ſeveral perſons, particularly ſir Roger Clarendon, with his ſquire and valet, and eleven prieſts and friars, were executed for ſpreading theſe falſe reports[34]. Agreeable to theſe reports, a body of

[32] Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 271.
[33] Otterbourne, p. 236. T. Walſing. p. 360.
[34] Rym Fœd. t. 8. p. 255. 261. Otterbourne, p 234.

10,000

A. D. 1402. 10,000 Scots, commanded by Archibald earl of Douglas, entered England in July, publiſhing, as they advanced, that king Richard was with them, and inviting all his ſubjects to join them; which ſeems to have had little effect [35]. They puſhed their deſtructive ravages beyond Newcaſtle: but on their return, they were met by an army collected in the northern counties, commanded by Henry earl of Northumberland and other barons, at Homildon-hill, near Wooller. There, on Holy-rood day, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots were defeated by the ſuperior dexterity of the Engliſh archers. The earl of Douglas, obſerving that his men could not ſtand the ſhowers of arrows poured in upon them, alighted from his horſe, ſeized a pike, and truſting to the goodneſs of his armour, followed by ſeveral other lords and gentlemen, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the Engliſh archers; where he was overpowered, and taken priſoner, together with the earls of Fife, Murray, Angus, and Orkney, the lords Montgomery, Erſkine, and Innernethy, and about eighty knights [36]. The lord Gordon, ſir John Swinton, with about eighty other knights and gentlemen, and a conſiderable number of common people, were killed. [37]

No priſoners to be ranſomed.

Henry was tranſported with joy at the news of this victory, and ſent the ſtricteſt commands to the earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, commonly called *Hotſpur*, his ſon, George Dunbar, earl of March in Scotland (who had revolted to the Engliſh)

[35] Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 261.
[36] Otterbourne, p. 236,237. Walſing. p. 366.
[37] Id. ibid.

Engliſh), and to other barons not to ranſom any of their priſoners, without his particular permiſſion[38]: a command which was not very agreeable to thoſe who received it, and which ſome of them refuſed to obey. A. D. 1402.

The earl of Northumberland, and his valiant ſon Hotſpur, in particular, who had been the chief inſtruments of gaining this great victory over the Scots, and even of raiſing the duke of Lancaſter to the throne, were not a little diſguſted at the peremptory tone of that command. They had alſo ſome other cauſes of diſcontent. Sir Edmund Mortimer was their near relation; and though they had made frequent applications, they never could obtain permiſſion to treat with Glendour about his ranſom; becauſe Henry both feared and hated the houſe of Mortimer, on account of their pretenſions to the crown. Thomas Percy earl of Worceſter, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had been much beloved and favoured by the late king Richard; and though he had alſo been honoured and employed by Henry, he ſtill retained a ſecret indignation againſt him for the murder of his former maſter. Theſe noblemen, by communicating their complaints, inflamed each others paſſions, and at length reſolved to exert all their power and influence to dethrone Henry, and place the crown on the head of the young earl of March the lineal heir. They communicated their deſign to their priſoner, the earl of Douglas, and granted him his liberty, on condition of his joining them with his followers; A. D. 1403. Conſpiracy of the earls of Northumberland, Worceſter, &c.

[38] Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 278.

A.D.1403. to which he conſented. They alſo admitted into their confederacy Owen Glendour, and his priſoner ſir Edmund Mortimer, who agreed to join them with 10,000 men, as ſoon as they approached the co nfines of Wales [39].

Take Arms. If this plot had been executed with as much prudence as it was planned, it would probably have deprived Henry of his crown, which coſt him ſo much guilt and labour to acquire. But the precipitancy of Hotſpur, and the too great caution or timidity of his father, diſconcerted all their meaſures. The earl of Douglas having joined young Percy about the beginning of July, they marched forward to meet their Welſh confederates, the earl of Northumberland promiſing to follow them immediately with a great body of men; a promiſe which he did not perform in proper time. They were joined by the earl of Worceſter and his followers, at Stafford [40]. When they arrived at Shrewſbury, and were about to inveſt that town, they were ſurpriſed at the appearance of the royal army, which had been collected with great expedition; the Scotch earl of March vehemently preſſing Henry to prevent the increaſe and junction of his enemies, by the celerity of his motions [41]. On July 20, when the two armies were in ſight of each other, the earl of Worceſter ſent a kind of manifeſto to Henry, full of the bittereſt invectives, accuſing him—of many acts of perjury,—of the murder of king Richard,—of the uſurpation of the

[39] Otterbourne, p. 239, &c. T. Walſing, p. 367, &c.
[40] Hall, f. 21. [41] Otterbourne, 241.

crown

crown from the true heir, the earl of March,—and of various other crimes[42]. This inflammatory paper put an end to all hopes of accommodation; and both parties prepared for battle againſt next day. A.D. 1403.

Battle of Shrewſbury.

On the morning of July 21, both armies were drawn up in order of battle, on the plains of Hartlefield, near Shrewſbury. The Scots, commanded by the valiant earl of Douglas, began the action by ſo furious an attack on the van of the royal army, that it was thrown into diſorder, and its leader, the young earl of Stafford, ſlain. King Henry, who commanded the main body of his army, advanced with great rapidity with a reinforcement; which encouraged his troops to rally and repel the enemy. In a little time the battle became general, and raged with uncommon fury. Each of the armies conſiſted of about 14,000 of the beſt troops in Britain. The leaders on both ſides were equally brave, fired with the moſt violent animoſity, and fought for their fortunes, honours, and lives, which rendered the conflict exceedingly fierce and obſtinate. The king diſplayed the moſt conſummate prudence as a general, and the moſt undaunted courage as a ſoldier, killing, as it is ſaid, a great number of his enemies with his own hand. He was nobly ſupported by his ſon the prince of Wales, who (though he was wounded in the face at the beginning of the action) gave a ſpecimen of that intrepidity which afterwards acquired him ſo much glory. On the other ſide, young Hotſpur and the Earl of Douglas are ſaid to have performed

[42] Hall, 21, 22.

A.D. 1403. prodigies of valour. Victory hovered over the two armies about three hours, ſometimes ſeeming to incline to the one, and ſometimes to the other. At length Hotſpur being killed by an unknown hand, his troops were quite diſpirited, and fled with great precipitation, leaving almoſt one half of their companions, killed, wounded, or priſoners. The loſs of the royal army, in killed and wounded, was alſo very great. The earl of Worceſter, the baron of Kinderton, and ſir Richard Vernon, having been taken, were beheaded two days after the battle. The earl of Douglas was alſo taken; but was treated with all becoming civility and reſpect [43].

The earl of Northumberland diſbands his army.

The earl of Northumberland, recovered from a real or feigned indiſpoſition, was far advanced on his march, with a body of men, to join the confederates, when he received the melancholy news of their defeat, and of the death of his heroic ſon Hotſpur, and of his brother the earl of Worceſter. Quite diſpirited by theſe great diſaſters, he diſbanded his little army, and retired to his caſtle of Warkworth in Northumberland [44].

Northumberland pardoned.

After Henry had obtained this great victory, he marched northward, and, by prohibiting his troops and ſubjects from plundering thoſe who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and offering pardon to all who ſubmitted to his authority, and took an oath required of them, he quieted the minds of the people, and reſtored the tranquillity of the coun-

[43] T. Walſing. p. 368, 369. Otterbourne, p. 243, 244. Hall, fol. 23, 24. [44] Otterbourne, p. 244. T. Walſing. p. 369.

try[45]. The earl of Northumberland, encouraged by the gentleneſs of theſe meaſures, came to York, Auguſt 11, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and implored his mercy. Henry, greatly incenſed at the earl's late behaviour, which had endangered his crown and life, received him with a frown: but ſoon recollecting his former ſervices, and commiſerating his fallen ſtate, he granted him his life; and, a few months after, he reſtored him to his honours and eſtate, depriving him only of the Iſle of Man, and the government of Berwick, and ſome other places of ſtrength[46]. A. D. 1403.

Though Henry had been ſo fortunate as to ſuppreſs this dangerous rebellion in a little time, he was ſtill ſurrounded with many enemies, and expoſed to many dangers. The French were raiſing one army, under the duke of Burgundy, to beſiege Calais, and another, under the duke of Orleans, to invade Guienne, while a body of their troops actually landed in the Iſle of Wight, and an army of Britons plundered and burnt Plymouth[47]. The Scots were watching an opportunity to invade the north; Owen Glendour was at the head of a great army in Wales; much diſcontent reigned amongſt his Engliſh ſubjects; and his exchequer was ſo exhauſted, that he was obliged to diſband his army for want of money[48]. But all theſe clouds were diſpelled by Henry's prudence and good fortune, A. D. 1404. Henry's dangers and deliverances.

[45] Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 320, 321, 322.
[46] T. Walſing. p. 369. Otterbourne, p. 245.
[47] Hiſtoire de France, par M. Villar, tom. 12. p. 404. T. Walſing. p. 369.
[48] Id. ibid.

and

A. D. 1404. and the diſcord and folly of his enemies. The violent animoſity which reigned between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans diſconcerted all the ſchemes of France; Owen Glendour ſpent his time chiefly in eſtabliſhing his authority in Wales, and forming an alliance with the French court; the Scots were amuſed with negotiations; and the Engliſh malcontents vented their ſpleen in ſecret murmurs and trifling plots; while Henry repleniſhed his exchequer, by holding two parliaments this year, one at Weſtminſter in January, and another at Coventry in October, from each of which he obtained large ſupplies; and by various other means[49].

A. D. 1405. Rebellion of the archbiſhop of York, &c. The diſcontents of the Engliſh daily increaſed; and a dangerous conſpiracy was formed in the beginning of this year, by Richard Scrope, archbiſhop of York, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, Thomas Mowbray earl marſhal, Thomas lord Bardolph, and many others, to dethrone Henry and place the crown on the head of the young earl of March. When their plot, as they imagined, was ripe for execution, the archbiſhop publiſhed a manifeſto, accuſing Henry of perjury, murder, uſurpation, tyranny, and many other crimes, declaring him excommunicated, promiſing the pardon of ſin and a place in heaven, to all who aſſiſted in dethroning him, and denouncing damnation on all who dared to ſupport him[50]. This manifeſto pro-

[49] Villar. tom. 12. p. 404. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 356. 363. 365, 366. 367, 368, 369. T. Walſing. p. 369, 370.

[50] Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 362.

duced

duced a great effect; and when the archbiſhop erected his ſtandard at York, ſuch multitudes crowded to it, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army of 15,000 men, with which he encamped on Shipton-moor, May 9, expecting to be ſoon joined by the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and their followers[51]. A.D. 1405.

This ſudden and formidable inſurrection made a mighty noiſe. Henry, who was then at London, collected all the forces he could, and marched northward: his third ſon, John of Lancaſter, and Ralph Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland, raiſed a little army in great haſte, with which they approached the inſurgents. But the earl finding them much ſtronger than he expected, had recourſe to art, and employed a ſtratagem, which had its full effect. He ſent a meſſenger to the archbiſhop and the earl marſhal, demanding the reaſon of their appearing in arms, and wiſhing to know their complaints and their deſires, that, if they were reaſonable, they might be granted, and the effuſion of blood prevented. The archbiſhop and earl ſent him a ſchedule of their demands, which were probably much lower than thoſe in the late manifeſto. Whatever they were, Weſtmoreland pretended to be pleaſed with them, and requeſted that a conference might be held by an equal number of the chiefs of both parties in the middle between the two armies. The earl marſhal diſcovered a reluctance to comply with this requeſt, ſuſpecting that ſome treachery was intended; but at length yielded to the earneſt Rebellion ſuppreſſed.

[51] Walſing. p. 373. Otterbourne, p 256.

A. D. 1405. intreaties of the archbiſhop. At the conference, Weſtmoreland acted his part with ſuch dexterity, that he baniſhed all ſuſpicion from the minds of the confederated chiefs; he approved, with the greateſt ſeeming ſincerity, of the ſeveral articles of the treaty, and ſolemnly ſwore to procure the king's ratification of it. When this important buſineſs was concluded, he called for wine, and propoſed, that the chiefs of the oppoſite parties ſhould embrace and drink together, in ſight of both armies, to convince them, that a perfect reconciliation had taken place. When they were drinking the earl ſuggeſted to the prelate, that it was no longer neceſſary to keep their armies together, and that therefore each of them ſhould ſend a meſſenger to his troops, to acquaint them that a peace was made, and to give them leave to depart immediately to their own homes. The archbiſhop, who was as credulous as he was ſincere, ſent the meſſage propoſed, which was obeyed: the earl ſent a ſimilar meſſage, but by one who underſtood his meaning; and it was not delivered. When Weſtmoreland obſerved the inſurgents diſperſing, and in confuſion, he threw off the maſk, and made the archbiſhop, the earl marſhal, and all their friends, who had come with them to the conference, priſoners, by a party of his own men, who came up at that moment for that purpoſe. As ſoon as this news reached the remains of the confederate army, every one conſulted his own ſafety, and fled with the greateſt precipitation [52].

[52] This ſingular tranſaction ſeems to be one of the beſt ſubjects for tragedy in the Engliſh hiſtory.

The

The noble priſoners, who had been thus artfully enſnared, were conducted, firſt to Pomfret, where the king arrived with his army, June 3, and then to York, where ſir William Fulthorp, who was conſtituted chief Juſtice of the king's-bench for that purpoſe, pronounced a ſentence of death on the archbiſhop, June 8, and he was beheaded the ſame day, with many circumſtances of mean and wanton cruelty, which he bore with the greateſt patience and compoſure [53]. The earl marſhal and the other priſoners ſhared the ſame fate [54]. A.D. 1405.

Henry, having puniſhed the people of York for their attachment to their late archbiſhop, by depriving their city of all its privileges, marched, at the head of 37,000 men, in purſuit of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and other inſurgents of the north [55]. At Durham he commanded the lord Haſtings, the lord Fauconbridge, ſir John Colvile of the Deal, and ſir John Griffith, who had been in the inſurrection at York, to be beheaded [56]. The earl of Northumberland, lord Bardolph, and their followers, unable to make head againſt ſo great a force, took ſhelter in Berwick, and not thinking themſelves ſafe there, they delivered the town to the Scots, and put a garriſon of their own people into the caſtle, and fled into Scotland to the lord Fleming, by whom they were kindly received and entertained [57]. The Scots, not thinking the town of Berwick tenable, ſet it on The north reduced.

[53] T. Walſing. p. 373.
[54] Anglia Sacra, p. 370.
[55] T. Walſing. p. 374.
[56] Hall, f. 25.
[57] Otterbourne, p. 256, 257.

fire,

A. D. 1405. fire, and marched home. The garriſon in the caſtle attempted to defend themſelves; but one of the towers being demoliſhed by the ſhot of a great cannon, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; and the governor (ſon to the lord of Greyſtock) and all the chief men were beheaded [58]. In his return ſouthward the king reduced the caſtles of Alnwick and Warkworth, without much difficulty. When he arrived at Pomfret, Auguſt 10, he made a grant of ſeveral great eſtates of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and the late earl marſhal, to his own queen [59].

Tranſactions in Wales.

Henry had ſent his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, in the ſpring of this year, before the troubles in the north broke out, with a ſmall army, againſt Owen Glendour; and that heroic prince defeated a much ſuperior army of the Welſh, March 11, near Groſmont in Monmouthſhire [60]. But a French fleet of 140 ſail arrived at Milford-haven, and landed an army of 12,000 men, which made affairs in Wales take a different turn. Glendour, with the aſſiſtance of his French allies, beſieged and took Cairmarden, which made Henry haſten his return from the north [61]. When he arrived at Hereford with his army, September 4, he iſſued a proclamation, repreſenting that the kingdom was expoſed to great danger by the junction of the French and Welſh—that his treaſures were exhauſted by his expedition into the north—that the tenths and fifteenths granted by parliament could not be levied

58 Otterbourne, p. 256, 257. 59 Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 408.
60 Id ibid. p. 390. 61 T. Walſing. p. 374. Otterbourne, p. 258.

till

till Martinmas—that he ſtood in need of a great ſum of money immediately, to enable him to march into Wales; and commanding the ſheriffs to call before them the richeſt men in their ſeveral counties, and prevail upon them to advance money on the credit of the tenths and fifteenths [62]. Retarded by this want of money and other obſtacles, he did not enter Wales till about the middle of October; and the ſeaſon proving uncommonly rainy, the roads impracticable, and proviſions ſcarce, he was obliged to return, without effecting any thing, having loſt fifty waggons, containing the moſt valuable part of his baggage [63]. About the ſame time Glendour's French auxiliaries returned into their own country. Before Henry ſet out on his expedition into Wales, he granted the Iſle of Man to ſir William Stanley, in whoſe poſterity it ſtill, in ſome reſpects, remains [64]. A. D. 1405.

Though the earl of Northumberland, and his friend the lord Bardolph, had been obliged to fly into Scotland, Henry ſtill dreaded their influence and reſentment, and ardently deſired to have their perſons in his poſſeſſion. With this view he propoſed to ſeveral noblemen of Scotland, who had been his priſoners ever ſince the battles of Homildon and Shrewſbury, to grant them their liberty, if they would prevail upon their friends to ſeize and deliver up the two Engliſh exiles. Theſe noblemen, weary of their long confinement, entered into his views, and communicated them to their friends, who undertook to accompliſh what they deſired. A.D. 1406. Northumberland and Bardolph fly into Wales.

[62] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 412.
[63] Otterbourne, p. 238.
[64] Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 420.

But

A. D. 1406. But this deſign having reached the ears of the lord Fleming, he imparted it to his noble gueſts, who made their eſcape into Wales, and joined Glendour, with whom they had kept up a conſtant correſpondence[65].

Though all the ſchemes that had been formed for dethroning Henry had miſcarried, the nation was ſtill full of malcontents, who earneſtly wiſhed his fall. Reports were propagated from time to time that king Richard was alive in Scotland, and would ſoon return to reclaim his crown; and theſe reports, however improbable, were believed by many[66]. The remonſtrances of parliament contained bitter complaints of his exactions and miſgovernment. Sir John Tibetot, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, in a ſpeech addreſſed to the throne, ſaid—that the kingdom was impoveriſhed by exceſſive impoſitions, and nothing done for its benefit—that ninety-ſix towns and caſtles were loſt in Guienne, and the reſt in danger—that Ireland was almoſt loſt, though much money had been given for its defence—that the marches towards Scotland were in a bad condition—the rebellion in Wales ſtill continued—the ſea was ill guarded, and the merchants ruined—the expences of the houſehold were exceſſive, and the court filled with a ſet of worthleſs raſcals[67]. Henry heard theſe angry ſpeeches with perfect compoſure, and purſued his own meaſures: he had even the art to procure a large ſupply from that very parliament.

[65] T. Walſing. p. 375. [66] Otterbourne, p. 261.
[67] Parliament. Hiſt. A. D. 1406.

The

A.D. 1406. War in Wales.

The war againſt Glendour was this year conducted by the prince of Wales, with ſpirit, but with no great ſucceſs. He compelled the garriſon in the ſtrong caſtle of Aberyſtwith to agree to ſurrender it againſt a certain day; but before that day arrived, Glendour turned out that garriſon, and put another in its place [68].

A.D. 1407. Peſtilence.

To the calamities of inteſtine war, which had diſquieted England for ſeveral years, the miſeries of a deſtructive peſtilence were now added. This plague raged with great violence in London, where it carried off 30,000 perſons; and with greater violence in the country, where it extirpated whole families and left many houſes empty [69].

The king almoſt taken by pirates.

As the plague was moſt deſtructive in and near London, the king and court removed from thence and reſided ſome part of the ſummer at the caſtle of Leeds in Kent. Deſiring to be at a greater diſtance from the capital, the king took ſhipping at Queenborough in the Iſle of Sheppey, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by Thomas Lord Camois. This little ſquadron was attacked at the mouth of the Thames by a fleet of French pirates, who took four of the ſhips, containing ſeveral perſons of rank, and much valuable furniture; and the king eſcaped with great difficulty, by the ſwift ſailing of his ſhip. The Lord Camois was tried by his peers in Weſtminſter-hall, for treachery or cowardice, and honourably acquitted [70].

[68] Otterbourne, p. 261. [69] T. Walſing. p. 376.
[70] Hall, f. 26.

The

A. D. 1407. Murder of the Duke of Orleans.

The implacable animoſity which had long reigned between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and which alone had prevented the loſs of all the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in France, came to a criſis this year, and terminated in the murder of the former, in the ſtreets of Paris, by aſſaſſins hired and inſtigated by the latter, who vowed and vindicated the atrocious deed [71]. This threw the kingdom of France into the moſt deplorable diſorders, which continued many years, and brought it to the brink of ruin.

A. D. 1408. Battle of Bramham-moor.

The earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolph, perceiving the affairs of Glendour on the decline, and having received ſome encouraging intelligence from the north, left Wales, and returned into Scotland, were they had many friends who pitied their misfortunes. Here they collected a little army with which they entered England and recovered ſome of the earl's caſtles in Northumberland. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and by a ſecret correſpondence (as it is ſaid) with ſir Thomas Rokeby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, they advanced into that county with a few attendants, in hopes that the whole country would join them. When they reached Thirſk, they ſet up their ſtandard, and publiſhed a manifeſto enumerating Henry's crimes, and calling upon all who loved their country to come and aſſiſt them in dethroning the murderer of his ſovereign and uſurper of the crown. Being joined by ſeveral gentlemen and their followers, they marched forward, and paſſed the Wherfe at

[71] Villar. Hiſtoire de France, tom. 12, p. 479, &c.

Wetherby,

Wetherby. If ſir Thomas Rokeby ever correſponded with the two lords, it muſt have been only with an intention to enſnare them. For he had now collected a conſiderable army, with which he attended all their motions, and brought them to an action, February 19, on Bramham-moor near Haſelwood, in which the earl of Northumberland was killed, and the lord Bardolph mortally wounded, and died a few days after[72]. The bodies of theſe two noblemen were diſmembered, and their heads and limbs ſet up at London and other places[73]. A.D. 1408.

Henry was on his march northward, when he received the agreeable news of the victory at Bramham-moor, and the fall of his two moſt dangerous enemies. He arrived at Pomfret April 8, and reſided there about a month, engaged in trying and puniſhing ſome of the unhappy perſons who had been engaged in the late inſurrection, and in collecting money, by compounding with others for their delinquency. Amongſt thoſe who were capitally puniſhed, was the abbot of Hayles, becauſe he had been taken in arms[74]. Having, by a prudent mixture of mercy and ſeverity, reduced the northern and moſt diſaffected parts of the kingdom to ſubmiſſion, he returned to London. Tranſactions in the north.

The ſuppreſſion of ſo many rebellions, with the ruin of thoſe who had been concerned in them, at length diſpirited Henry's enemies, and diſpoſed them to ſubmit to a government which they could not overturn. Glendour indeed was ſtill unſubdued; A.D. 1409. Reduction of the Welſh.

[72] Otterbourne, p. 261, 262. T. Walſing. p. 377.
[73] Id. ibid. [74] Otterbourne p. 263.

but

A. D. 1409. but he was ſo much weakened by the deſtruction of his confederates and the defection of his followers, that he was no longer to be dreaded. In the ſummer of this year, he made a laſt effort, by ſending the greateſt part of his followers, under the command, of two of his braveſt partizans, Rees Ap Du and Philpot Scudamore, to ravage Shropſhire. This they executed with great ferocity; but they were at laſt defeated, many of them killed, their two leaders taken, conducted to London, and there executed. The Welſh now deſpairing of being able to maintain their independency, abandoned their new prince, and quietly ſubmitted to the Engliſh government. Glendour ſkulked about the country ſeveral years under ſeveral diſguiſes, and at length died at his daughter's houſe, at Monington in Herefordſhire, September 20, A. D. 1415.

A. D. 1410. to A. D. 1413. Tranſactions on the continent. England and Wales being now reduced to a ſtate of perfect ſubmiſſion and tranquillity, Henry had leiſure to turn his attention to his foreign dominions, which he had hitherto been obliged, in a great meaſure, to neglect. Fortunately for him, the diſtractions of the French, which had been even greater than thoſe of the Engliſh, had prevented them from taking advantage of this neglect. The diviſions and party rage of the French were greatly inflamed by the murder of the duke of Orleans; and at length broke out into a cruel and bloody civil war, between the duke of Burgundy and his party on one ſide, and the young duke of Orleans, his father-in law, the earl of Armagnac, and their partizans, on the other. Though a truce then ſubſiſted

ſubſiſted between England and France, both parties earneſtly ſolicited Henry's friendſhip and aſſiſtance; and he ſent the earl of Arundel, with 800 men at arms, and 1000 archers, to the duke of Burgundy, who, with the aid of theſe ſuccours, got poſſeſſion of Paris, A. D. 1411 [75]. The Armagnacs (as they were called), dreading the conſequences of this connection between their enemies and the king of England, entered into a negotiation with Henry, offering him the reſtitution of all that he had loſt in Guienne, and other advantages, for his aſſiſtance [76]. Tempted by theſe offers, or perhaps with a view to prolong the civil war, he concluded a treaty with that party, May 18, A. D. 1412, and engaged to ſend them an aid of 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers [77]. Henry ſeems to have had ſome intention to conduct and command theſe troops in perſon; but being prevented by ſickneſs, or ſome other cauſe, he appointed his ſecond ſon, Thomas of Lancaſter, now created duke of Clarence, their general [78]. In the mean time, the king of France, the unhappy Charles VI. having recovered from one of thoſe fits of frenzy with which he was frequently ſeized, was ſo much enraged at the Armagnacs, for their deſign of introducing ſo great a body of Engliſh troops into the kingdom, that he joined the duke of Burgundy, and beſieged the duke of Berry, one of the chiefs of that party, in Bourges. While the aſſailants puſhed the ſiege with great vigour, and the beſieged defended

A. D. 1410, to A. D. 1413.

75 T. Walſing. p. 380.
76 Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 715, 716 718.
77 Id. ibid. p. 738.
78 Id. ibid. p. 733. 745.

A.D. 1410, to A.D. 1413. themſelves with great valour, they both ſuffered extremely by the ſword, famine, and diſeaſes; at the ſame time, they were both anxious about the Engliſh, the one dreading that they would arrive too ſoon, and the other that they would arrive too late. Theſe circumſtances firſt gave riſe to wiſhes, and then to propoſals, of peace; of which both parties being equally deſirous, it was ſoon concluded. By one article of this treaty, both parties renounced all their alliances and connections with the Engliſh [79].

Expedition into France. About the time this treaty was concluded, the duke of Clarence, with a conſiderable army, landed at La Hogue in Normandy, to the aſſiſtance of the Armagnacs. For ſome days the Engliſh army behaved in a quiet and orderly manner; but when they heard of the pacification of Bourges, they gave looſe reins to their fury, and ſpread ruin and deſolation wherever they appeared. After they had done much miſchief and collected much booty, they were prevailed upon to deſiſt from hoſtilities, and retire into Guienne, by a promiſe of 320,000 crowns; for the payment of which the duke of Orleans gave his brother and ſome other noblemen hoſtages [80].

A.D. 1413. Death of Henry IV. This was the laſt important tranſaction in the reign of Henry IV. Though that prince was ſtill in the prime of life, he had for ſome time been in a precarious ſtate of health, afflicted with frequent

[79] Hiſtoire de la France, par Villar, t. 13. p. 212, 213.
[80] T. Walſing. p. 382. Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

fits,

fits, which deprived him of all ſenſation, and ſeemed to threaten him with immediate death. He was ſeized with one of theſe fits as he was at his devotion in St. Edward's chapel, Weſtminſter; and being carried into the abbot's lodgings, he there expired, March 20, A. D. 1413, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign [81]. A. D. 1413.

His unhappineſs.

Few princes ever ſat more uneaſy on a throne than Henry IV. In the firſt eight years of his reign he was haraſſed with almoſt inceſſant plots and inſurrections; and though he enjoyed more external tranquillity in the latter part of it, he was not more happy, poſſeſſing neither health of body nor peace of mind. The great qualities of his eldeſt ſon, which ought to have given him joy, filled him with jealouſy and ſuſpicion; and the frolicſome, diſorderly conduct of that prince, when he was excluded from buſineſs, gave him no leſs vexation. He was much diſquieted with remorſe for thoſe crimes which paved his way to the throne; nor was he without other cauſes of chagrin. In a word, few of his ſubjects had reaſon to envy the happineſs of their ſovereign.

His character.

Henry IV. was, in ſtature, a little below the middle ſize, but robuſt and well made. He excelled in all the martial and manly exerciſes of his times; and his courage was at once calm and undaunted. His head was better than his heart; his ſchemes being formed with prudence, and generally

[81] T. Walſing. p. 382. Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

A. D. 1413. ſucceſsful, but not always innocent, and ſeldom generous. As jealous as he was fond of power, he ſtuck at nothing to obtain and keep it; and was not very prone to pardon thoſe who attempted to deprive him of it. From policy more than principle, he protected the church and perſecuted heretics. Ambition was his ruling paſſion; and that, impelled by a violent gale of popular favour, hurried him into a throne, which involved him in many crimes and cares, and his country in many calamities. He would have been both a better and a happier man, if he had never been a king. Henry, by his firſt wife, Mary de Bohun, one of the co-heireſſes of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, had four ſons and two daughters, viz. Henry, who ſucceeded him in the throne, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, Humphry, duke of Glouceſter, Blanche, ducheſs of Bavaria, and Philippa, queen of Denmark. By his ſecond wife, Jane, ducheſs of Brittany, he had no iſſue.

SECTION II.

From the acceſſion of Henry V. A. D. 1413, *to the acceſſion of Henry* VI. A. D. 1422.

Henry V. crowned. HENRY V. was proclaimed, at London, March 21, and crowned at Weſtminſter, April 9, A. D. 1413; and whatever objections might have been made to his title, no prince ever mounted a throne more peaceably, and few with greater

greater applauſe [1]. His father Henry IV. had loſt all his popularity long before his death, which made the news of that event, and of his ſon's ſucceſſion, to be received with joy. A. D. 1413.

His youthful frolics.

The joy of the people of England on this occaſion would have been more complete, if they had not entertained ſome ſuſpicions concerning the character of their new king. That prince, in a very early period of life, had given proofs that he was poſſeſſed of a good underſtanding, great courage, activity, generoſity, and other virtues, which made him the object of the people's love and of his father's jealouſy; but for four or five years before his acceſſion having no opportunity of exerciſing his military talents in the field, and being quite excluded from the cabinet, his vivacity, and other youthful paſſions, betrayed him into a diſorderly courſe of life. Many of his irregularities were the mere effects of wit and gaiety of heart, and occaſioned only laughter; but ſome of them wore a more unfavourable aſpect, being direct violations of the law, and inſults on its moſt reſpectable miniſters. For diſorders of this nature, it is ſaid, he was twice put under confinement, firſt by ſir W. Gaſcoigne, chief juſtice of England, and afterwards by John Hornſby, mayor of Coventry. But even theſe laſt were the effects of wantonneſs rather than of malice; and he ſubmitted to the correction which they brought upon him in a manner which did him honour [2].

1 Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 1.; T. Walſing. p. 382.

2 Thom. de Elmham, Vita Henrici V. Oxon. A. D. 1727, p. 12; Hall, f. 1.; Append. ad Forduni Scotichron, p. 1444.

A.D. 1413. His change of conduct.

The fears of the people of England concerning the character of their king were ſoon diſpelled. The moment Henry V. aſcended the throne, he became (to uſe the words of the contemporary hiſtorians) a new man. Determined to change his courſe of life, he diſmiſſed the licentious companions of his former riots, with marks of his bounty, but with ſtrict commands never to approach his perſon, till they had given ſufficient evidence of their amendment[3]. He ſought out, honoured, and employed men of virtue and abilities; and none met with ſo favourable a reception from him as the chief juſtice, who had committed him to priſon, and others who had offended him, by the faithful diſcharge of their duty, in his father's reign. Remembering the kindneſs with which he had been treated by the unhappy Richard II. in whoſe court he had been educated, he removed the body of that prince, with great funeral pomp, from Langley to Weſtminſter[4]. The earl of March, who had been kept in a kind of confinement during the late reign, was ſet at liberty, and treated with an unſuſpicious frankneſs, which effectually gained his heart. Commiſerating the fallen fortunes of the noble family of Northumberland, which had long been the bulwark of the northern borders, he procured the deliverance of the young heir of that family from his captivity in Scotland, and reſtored him to the eſtates and honours of his anceſtors[5]. In a word, Henry V. on his acceſſion

3 T. Walſing. p. 382. Hall, f. 1. Hen. V.

4 Id. f. 2. Stow, p. 345.

5 Holingſhed, p. 545.

to

to the throne, diſplayed all the virtues of a great and good king, except that of reſpecting the rights of conſcience in matters of religion; which was not believed to be a virtue in the age in which he flouriſhed. A. D. 1413.

The cruel intolerant ſpirit of the church of Rome, to which all the Chriſtian world was then enſlaved, excited the firſt diſturbances in this reign. The diſciples of Wickliff, who were called *Lollards*, had been cruelly perſecuted, but ſtill increaſed; and were now become ſo formidable, that they threatened the clergy with a diminution of their power and opulence. To prevent this, Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, determined to cruſh that dreaded and deteſted ſect, by inflicting capital puniſhments on its moſt conſiderable members. With this view he obtained permiſſion from the king to proſecute ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, for hereſy; who being apprehended and tried, was ſweetly and modeſtly (words uſed in the record) condemned, October 10, by the archbiſhop, to be burnt alive; and delivered to the ſecular arm for that purpoſe [6]. But he had the good fortune to make his eſcape out of the Tower before the day appointed for his execution, and fled into Wales, where he concealed himſelf more than four years [7]. Condemnation of lord Cobham.

It is highly probable that lord Cobham was much exaſperated againſt the clergy for having doomed him to ſuch a painful death, and that he was not a little diſpleaſed with the king (whoſe fa- A.D. 1414. Commotion of lord Cobham and the Lollards.

[6] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 61—66. [7] Bale, fol. 43.

A. D. 1414. vour he had merited by his ſervices) for having abandoned him to the will of his enemies; but it may be juſtly doubted, whether he carried his reſentment ſo far as to form the criminal and cruel ſchemes imputed to him by the clergy, and believed by the king. Theſe ſchemes are ſaid to have been, to ſurpriſe the king at Eltham, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and to put him, his three brothers, and all the principal clergy of the kingdom, to death [8]. All we know with certainty is, that a conſiderable number of Lollards aſſembled in St. Giles's fields, in the night of January 6, A. D. 1414; that they were there ſurpriſed by the king, who had received intelligence of their meeting; that ſome of them were taken and executed; and that a proclamation was iſſued, January 9, promiſing a reward of 1000 marks to any one who ſhould apprehend ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham [9]. In that proclamation, the procurement of the aſſembly in St. Giles's fields, and the intention of killing the king, are imputed to lord Cobham; but with what juſtice it is impoſſible to determine. It is not known whether he was in that aſſembly or not: if he was in it, he made his eſcape; for he was not apprehended till about four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt as a heretic [10].

Henry thinks of claiming the crown of France.

France was at this time a ſcene of the moſt deplorable diſorder. The unhappy Charles VI. ſeldom enjoying ſo much reaſon as to be fit for

8 Elmham, p. 30. Tit. Livii, p. 6, 7. T. Walſing. p. 385, 386.
9 Id. ibid. Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 89.
10 Walſing. Ypod. Neuſt. p. 591.

govern-

government, the kingdom was torn in pieces by the two furious factions of Burgundy and Orleans; private wars were carried on between the nobility of the different parties in every province; towns were taken and reduced to aſhes; the open country deſolated by fire and ſword; and the one half of the nation ſeemed determined to exterminate the other [11]. Theſe circumſtances, it is probable, encouraged Henry V. to think of claiming the crown of France, and attempting the conqueſt of that kingdom. A. D. 1414.

This claim, it muſt be confeſſed, was not very well founded on any ſuppoſition. If the French doctrine of ſucceſſion prevailed, viz. That a female could neither inherit the crown of France, nor tranſmit a title to it to her male poſterity, Henry had no ſhadow of right; if the Engliſh doctrine advanced by Edward III. prevailed, viz. That though a female could not inherit the crown of France ſhe could tranſmit a title to it to her male poſterity; ſtill Henry had no right, becauſe this kind of right was evidently in the earl of March, tranſmitted from queen Iſabella to her ſon Edward III. and from him to the earl of March, by Philippa, only child of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John duke of Lancaſter, from whom Henry derived all his rights. But the princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, when they had uſurped the throne of England from the family of March, ſeem to have conſidered that family as extinct, and That claim not well founded.

[11] Hiſtoire de France, par Villar, tom. 13. p. 299—336.

all

A.D 1414. all its rights transferred to them; and it may be obſerved in general, that ambitious princes are not the moſt ſcrupulous caſuiſts when a crown is in queſtion, and ſeems to be within their reach.

Prepara-tions for war.

Though Henry had certainly formed the deſign of invading France ſoon after his acceſſion, he artfully concealed that deſign as long as poſſible from thoſe he intended to invade. With this view he ſought the princeſs, Katharine, the youngeſt daughter of the king of France, in marriage, with great ſeeming earneſtneſs, and carried on conſtant negotiations for a long truce or a perpetual peace. But he took effectual care that theſe negotiations ſhould not ſucceed, by riſing in his demands as the French advanced in their conceſſions [12]. In the mean time he was eagerly engaged in making preparations of all kinds for his intended expedition [13]. A parliament, which met this year, granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, beſides the lands of all the alien priories in England, to the number of 110, and he received a valuable free gift from the clergy [14]. He borrowed from all who could be prevailed upon to lend, pawning his jewels, and even his crown, to procure money [15]. With much diligence he collected troops, arms, proviſions, ſhips, and every thing neceſſary [16].

[12] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 88—261.

[13] Id. ibid. p. 261. Elmham, ch. 15. p. 29. T. Livii, p. 6. T. Walſing. p. 387.

[14] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 137, &c.

[15] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 257. 263. 271. 284, 285, 286.

[16] Id. ibid. p. 249—288. Elmham, c. 18. p. 34, 35, 36.

When

When all things were ready, at Southampton, July 28, Henry threw off the maſk, by rejecting all the offers of the French ambaſſadors, and putting an end to negotiation. While the troops were embarking, a ſurprizing diſcovery was made of a conſpiracy againſt the king, by ſome of his neareſt relations and greateſt favourites; particularly Richard earl of Cambridge, ſon to the duke of York, Henry lord Scrope of Maſham, treaſurer and chief confident of his royal maſter, and ſir Thomas Grey of Heton in Northumberland. The deſign of the conſpirators, according to the confeſſion of the earl of Cambridge, was to carry the earl of March, whoſe ſiſter he had married, into Wales, and there proclaim him king, in hopes that the people of thoſe parts would join his ſtandard and ſupport his cauſe [17]. The three chief conſpirators were tried in a very ſummary manner, condemned, and executed. The earl of March, to whom the project had been communicated, and who probably revealed it to the king, was pardoned [18].

A. D. 1415. Conſpiracy.

Henry, having appointed his brother John duke of Bedford regent of England, ſailed from Southampton, 13th Auguſt, with a gallant army of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 archers, and arrived next day on the coaſt of France, about nine miles from Harfleur, which he ſoon after inveſted. After a ſiege of about five weeks, that town ſurrendered, September 22, upon the following hard

Siege of Harfleur.

17 Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 300.

18 Id. ibid. p. 303. Elmham, p. 36. Walſing. p. 389. Tit. Livii, p. 8.

condi-

A. D. 1415. conditions, That thirty perſons, to be named by Henry, ſhould be delivered to him, to be treated as he pleaſed; and that the reſt of the garriſon and inhabitants ſhould march out, and go where they pleaſed, leaving all their goods behind them to enrich the conquerors [19].

Henry reſolves to return to England.

Though this was a valuable, it was not a cheap conqueſt; for the uncommon heat of the weather, the great fatigues of the ſiege, the uncautious eating of fruit, and other cauſes, produced an epidemic dyſentery in the Engliſh army, of which ſeveral perſons of rank, and about 2000 of the common ſoldiers, died; and far greater numbers were rendered incapable of ſervice [20]. This circumſtance, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, made it improper to engage in any other military enterpriſe. Henry, therefore, repaired the fortifications of Harfleur, invited many Engliſh families to ſettle in it, by granting them the houſes of the former inhabitants, and furniſhed it with a garriſon of 2000 men, under the command of his uncle, the earl of Dorſet, as governor, and of ſir John Faſtolf, as lieutenant-governor; and then began to think of conducting the remainder of his troops back again to England. But the manner of accompliſhing this was a queſtion of no little difficulty; to determine which, the king called a council of all the great men of his army. The duke of Clarence, the king's eldeſt brother, propoſed to embark the army at Harfleur, and ſail directly from thence into Eng-

[19] Tit. Livii, p. 11. Elmham, p. 47, 48. [20] Elmham, p. 44.

land.

land. But the king, thinking that would have the appearance of fear, and of ſhunning an engagement, declared boldly for marching by land to Calais; and that reſolution was adopted[21]. The duke of Clarence, the earls of March, Arundel, Marſhall, and many others who were indiſpoſed, took their paſſage directly from Harfleur, which ſtill further diminiſhed the army[22]. A.D. 1415.

The landing of ſo powerful an enemy as the king of England upon their coaſts, did not extinguiſh the flames of faction among the French; for while that prince was beſieging Harfleur, they were debating in council, whether they ſhould intruſt the protection of the kingdom to the duke of Burgundy or the duke of Orleans, believing that it was impoſſible for theſe two princes to co-operate. This queſtion was at length determined in favour of the duke of Orleans and his party; which furniſhed his rival with a pretence for acting that part which he afterwards acted, and which brought ſo many calamities upon his country, and deſtruction upon himſelf[23]. So ſlow were the preparations of the French, that when the ſiege of Harfleur had continued five weeks, and the Engliſh army was ſo much weakened, they had not a ſufficient number of troops to attempt the relief of that place[24]. The ſurrender of Harfleur ſeems to have rouſed them; for in about fourteen days after, they had collected an army of 100,000 men to intercept the Engliſh army in its march to Calais[25]. State of France.

21 Tit. Livii, p. 12. Elmham, c. 42. p. 49. 22 Walſing. p. 391.
23 Hiſtoire de France, par Villar, tom. 13. p. 350.
24 Id. ibid. p. 346. 25 Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 314.

It

A. D. 1415.

Dangerous ſituation of the Engliſh army.

It is hardly poſſible to imagine any ſituation more dangerous than that of Henry V and his army, at this time. That army was now reduced to 10,000 men, of whom not a few were ſick, or ſlowly recovering from ſickneſs;—they had to traverſe a long tract of country, inhabited by exaſperated enemies, from whom they were to procure proviſions, lodgings, guides, intelligence, and every thing they wanted;—that country was defended by many ſtrong towns, interſected by deep rivers, and guarded by an army of 100,000, or (according to ſome contemporary writers) 140,000 men[z].

Their march from Harfleur to Agincourt.

Henry, undaunted by all theſe dangers and difficulties, departed from Harfleur, marching his army in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on the wings. He proceeded by very eaſy journies, that he might not fatigue his troops, or diſcourage them by the appearance of a flight; obſerving the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and paying generouſly for every thing he received; which induced the country-people to bring proviſions to his camp, in ſpite of all the commands they had received to the contrary. To keep his men in ſpirits, and from repining, the king fared as ill as the meaneſt ſoldier, always appearing with a cheerful countenance, and addreſſing them in the moſt friendly and encouraging language. When the Engliſh army reached the banks of the river Somme at Blanquitake, where Edward III. had paſſed before the battle of Creſſy, and where they deſigned to paſs, to their great mortification, they found the ford was rendered impracticable, by

[z] T. Walſing. p. 391.

ſharp

ſharp ſtakes driven into the bottom; and ſaw a great army on the other ſide, ready to oppoſe their paſſage. This obliged them to march up the banks of that river, in queſt of a place to paſs it; which they fortunately found near Bethencourt, where the whole army got over, October 19, without oppoſition. Proceeding on their march, they arrived at the village of Agincourt, in the county of St. Pol, on the evening of October 24, and there beheld the whole French army, at a ſmall diſtance, directly in their route [27]. The king took an attentive view of it from an eminence, and was fully convinced, that it was impoſſible to proceed any further on his way to Calais, without a battle, and equally impoſſible to return to Harfleur with ſo great an army in his rear. He therefore reſolved to hazard an action next morning, as the only means of preſerving himſelf and his little army from deſtruction [28]. Some French writers indeed ſay, that he made an offer to give up his conqueſt of Harfleur, and to repair all the damages he had done for a free paſſage to Calais [29]. But this is neither agreeable to the character of his courage nor his prudence; as ſuch an offer would have diſpirited his own men and encouraged his enemies; and he could not expect that it would be accepted. A.D. 1415.

The Engliſh army lodged in the villages of Agincourt, Maiſoncelle, and ſome others, on the night of the 24th of October, and met with better accommodation than they had been accuſtomed to

How the Engliſh ſpent the night before the battle.

[27] Elmham, c. 24, 25. p. 54—59. Tit. Livii, p. 12—15. T. Walſing. p. 392. [28] T. Walſing. p. 392.

[29] Labouruir, l. 34. c. 6. Villar, tom. 9. p. 358.

for

A. D. 1415. for ſome time paſt, and ſpent part of their time in mutual exhortations to fight bravely in the approaching battle [30]. The king, overhearing ſome of his nobles expreſſing a wiſh, that the many brave men who were idle in England were preſent to aſſiſt them, cried out—"No! I would not have one man "more—if we are defeated we are too many—if "it ſhould pleaſe God to give us the victory, as I "truſt he will, the ſmaller our number the greater "our glory [31]." The moon happening to ſhine very bright, Henry, with ſome of his beſt officers, carefully examined the ground, and pitched upon a field of battle, admirably calculated to preſerve a ſmall army from being ſurrounded by a great one. It was a gentle declivity from the village of Agincourt, of ſufficient extent for his ſmall army, defended on each ſide by hedges, trees, and bruſhwood. Having placed guards and kindled fires on all ſides, the king and his army betook themſelves to reſt; except ſuch as were of a more ſerious turn of mind, and, conſidering that as the laſt night of their lives, ſpent it in devotion [32].

How the French ſpent it.

The French, exulting in their numbers, confident of victory, and abounding in proviſions, ſpent the night in noiſy feſtivity, and in forming fanciful ſchemes about the diſpoſal of their priſoners and their booty. It was in general reſolved to put all the Engliſh to the ſword, except the king and the chief nobility, who were to be taken priſoners for the ſake of their ranſoms [33].

[30] Elmham, p. 59. [31] Id. p. 61.
[32] Id. p. 59. T. Livii, p. 16. T. Walſing. p. 392.
[33] Id. ibid. Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.

On

On the morning of Friday, the memorable 25th of October, A. D. 1415, the day of Criſpin and Criſpianus, the Engliſh and French armies were ranged in order of battle, each in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on each wing. The conſtable d'Albert, who commanded the French army, fell into the ſnare that was laid for him, by drawing up his army in the narrow plain between the two woods. This deprived him, in a great meaſure, of the advantage he ſhould have derived from the prodigious ſuperiority of his numbers; obliged him to make his lines unneceſſarily deep, about thirty men in file; to crowd his troops, particularly his cavalry, ſo cloſe together, that they could hardly move or uſe their arms; and in a word, was the chief cauſe of all the diſaſters that followed [34]. The French, it is ſaid, had a conſiderable number of cannon of different ſizes in the field; but we do not hear that they did any execution, probably for want of room [35]. The firſt line of the French army, which conſiſted of 8000 men at arms on foot, mixed with 4000 archers, with 500 men at arms mounted on each wing, was commanded by the conſtable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many other nobles, the dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, &c. conducted the ſecond line; and the earls of Marle, Damartine, Fauconberg, &c. were at the head of the third line [36]. The king of England employed various arts to ſupply his defect of numbers. He placed 200 of his

A. D. 1415. Order of battle.

34 Tit. Livii, p. 17. Elmham, c. 27.
35 Id. p. 63. Tit. Livii, p. 17. Villar, tom. 9 p. 361.
36 Id. ibid. p. 365.

A.D. 1415. beſt archers, in ambuſh in a low meadow, on the flank of the firſt line of the French[37]. His own firſt line conſiſted wholly of archers, four in file; each of whom, beſides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a ſword, and a ſtake pointed with iron, at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, the point inclining outwards, to protect him from cavalry; which was a new invention, and had a happy effect[38]. That he might not be incumbered, he diſmiſſed all his priſoners, on their word of honour to ſurrender themſelves at Calais, if he obtained the victory, and lodged all his baggage in the village of Agincourt, in his rear, under a ſlender guard[39]. The command of the firſt line was, at his earneſt requeſt, committed to Edward duke of York, aſſiſted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope; the ſecond was conducted by the king, with his youngeſt brother Humphry, duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Oxford, Marſhal, and Suffolk; and the third was led by the duke of Exeter, the king's uncle[40]. The lines being formed, the king, in ſhining armour, with a crown of gold adorned with precious ſtones on his helmet, mounted on a fine white horſe, rode along them, and addreſſed each corps with a chearful countenance and animating ſpeeches[41]. To inflame their reſentment againſt their enemies, he told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every priſoner; and to rouſe their love of honour he declared, that every

[37] Hall, Hen. V. f. 16. [38] Id. ibid. Elmham, p. 65.
[39] Id. p. 60. [40] Hall, Hen. V. f. 16. [41] Elmham, p. 61.

ſoldier

ſoldier in that army who behaved well, ſhould from henceforth be deemed a gentleman, and intitled to bear coat armour[42]. The Engliſh archers, fired by the words and geſtures of their king, and panting for action, ſtripped themſelves almoſt naked, that they might deal their blows with the greater rapidity and vigour[43]. A.D. 1415.

When the two armies were drawn up in this manner, they ſtood a conſiderable time gazing at one another in ſolemn ſilence. But the king, dreading that the French would diſcover the danger of their ſituation, and decline a battle, commanded the charge to be ſounded, about ten of the clock in the forenoon. At that inſtant, the firſt line of the Engliſh kneeled down, and kiſſed the ground; and then ſtarting up diſcharged a flight of arrows, which did great execution among the crowded ranks of the French[44]. Immediately after, upon a ſignal being given, the archers in ambuſh aroſe, and diſcharged their arrows on the flank of the French line, and threw it into ſome diſorder[45]. The battle now became general, and raged with uncommon fury. The Engliſh archers, having expended all their arrows, threw away their bows, and ruſhing forward, made dreadful havoc with their ſwords and battle-axes[46]. The firſt line of the enemy was by theſe means defeated; its leaders being either killed or taken priſoners. The ſecond line, commanded by the duke d'Alençon (who had made a vow either to kill or take the king Battle of Agincourt.

[42] Elmham, p. 61. Villar, p. 364.
[43] Id. p. 366.
[44] T. Elmham, p. 65. 371.
[45] Hall, Hen. V. f. 17.
[46] Id. ibid. f. 18.

A.D. 1415. of England, or to periſh in the attempt), now advanced to the charge, and was encountered by the ſecond line of the Engliſh, conducted by the king. This conflict was more cloſe and furious than the former. The duke of Glouceſter, wounded and unhorſed, was protected by his royal brother, till he was carried off the field [47]. The duke d'Alençon forced his way to the king, and aſſaulted him with great fury; but that prince brought him to the ground, where he was inſtantly diſpatched [48]. Diſcouraged by this diſaſter, the ſecond line made no more reſiſtance; and the third fled without ſtriking a blow; yielding a complete and glorious victory to the Engliſh, after a violent ſtruggle of three hours duration [49].

The killed and taken.

The king did not permit his men to purſue the fugitives to a great diſtance, but encouraged them to take as many priſoners as they could on or near the field; in which they were ſo ſucceſsful, that, in a little time, his captives were more numerous than his ſoldiers [50]. A great proportion of theſe priſoners were men of rank and fortune; for many of the French nobleſſe being on foot, and loaded with their heavy armour, could not make their eſcape. Among theſe were, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the marſhal Boucicaut, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, and Harcourt, and 7000 barons, knights, and gentlemen [51]. The French

[47] Elmham, p. 67. Tit. Liv. p. 20. [48] Hall, f. 18.

[49] T. Walſing. p 393. Tit. Liv. p. 20. Thomas de Elmham's deſcription of this battle is ſo curious a piece of bombaſt, that I have given it in Appendix, N° I.

[50] Tit Liv. p. 20. [51] T. Otterbourne, p. 277.

left

left dead on the field of battle, the conſtable d'Albert, the three dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, the archbiſhop of Sens, one marſhal, thirteen earls, ninety-two barons, 1500 knights, and a far greater number of gentlemen, beſides ſeveral thouſands of common ſoldiers [52]. Even the French hiſtorians acknowledge, that the loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable; and thoſe of our own contemporary writers who make it the greateſt, affirm that it did not exceed a hundred; and that the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk were the only great men who fell on that ſide in this memorable action [53]. So aſtoniſhing, on ſome occaſions, are the events of war, and ſo fatal the errors of thoſe to whom the conduct of armies is committed! For to the groſs errors committed by the conſtable d'Albert, as much as to the wiſe meaſures of Henry, and the heroic valour of the Engliſh, the diſgrace and ruin of the French army may be imputed. A. D. 1415.

The advanced ſeaſon of the year, with the want of a ſufficient number of men, prevented Henry from making any other uſe of his great victory than to purſue his march to Calais, with his ſpoils and priſoners [54]. Having there reſted and refreſhed his troops, he embarked for England, November 16, with his principal priſoners, and arrived at Dover that ſame evening; where he was received with tranſports of joy, many of the people plunging into the ſea to meet his barge [55]. At his triumphant entry into London, November 23, the ſhows and Henry's reception into England.

52 T. Otterbourne, p. 277. T. Elmham, p. 68. Villar, t. 13. p. 375.
53 T. Elmham, p. 69. 54 Id. ibid. 55 Elmham, p. 71.

A.D. 1415. pageants exhibited by the citizens (ſays a contemporary writer) were ſo numerous, that it would have required a volume to deſcribe them [56]. One of the moſt valuable proofs they gave him of their good-will was, a preſent of £1000, in two gold baſons, each worth £500 [57].

A.D. 1416. Alliance with the duke of Burgundy.

The lamentations in France were as loud as the acclamations in England, there being few families in it who did not mourn the loſs of ſome relations who had fallen in the fatal battle of Agincourt. The diſtractions which reigned in the court and councils of that kingdom after that battle can hardly be deſcribed. The excluſion of the duke of Burgundy from all ſhare in the government, by the prevailing faction of the Armagnacs, had diſguſted him ſo much, that he had engaged in ſecret negotiations with the king of England. The defeat at Agincourt, the death of his ſon-in-law, the dauphin Lewis, which happened about ſix weeks after, and, above all, the exaltation of his moſt inveterate enemy, the count d'Armagnac, to the office of conſtable, and the chief direction of all affairs, accelerated theſe negotiations, which terminated in a treaty of alliance, in which the duke acknowledged Henry to be king of France, and engaged to aſſiſt him with all his forces, to obtain the poſſeſſion of that kingdom [58]. This alliance with ſo powerful a prince of the blood of France, who had ſo numerous a party in that diſtracted kingdom, gave Henry a very probable proſpect of ſucceſs in his deſigns.

[56] T. Walſing. p. 395. [57] Stow, p. 351. [58] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 304. 328. 332. 354. 364. 374. 390. 395, &c.

The

The emperor Sigiſmund, who had viſited the courts of Arragon and France, to engage them to concur in putting an end to the ſchiſm in the church, arrived in England in April this year, with ſimilar views [59]. While he continued there, he attempted to mediate a peace between France and England; but without ſucceſs [60]. As Henry, however, was not prepared for the formidable invaſion which he intended, he agreed to a truce from October 9, A. D. 1416, to February 2, 1417 [61]. A. D. 1416. Truce with France.

While the king of England was forming alliances, collecting money, raiſing troops, and making every poſſible preparation for invading France, thoſe who conducted the affairs of that kingdom were doing every thing that could contribute to their own and to their country's ruin. The conſtable d'Armagnac in reality poſſeſſed all the power of the crown; and he employed that power to the moſt pernicious purpoſes. His reigning paſſion was hatred to the duke of Burgundy and his party; and being naturally of a fierce imperious ſpirit, he perſecuted all who were ſuſpected of attachment to that party with the moſt unrelenting cruelty. This rendered the wounds of faction incurable, and produced much diſorder, diſcord, and diſtreſs, in all parts of the kingdom; and particularly in the capital, where the Burgundian had many friends, who had formed a plot to maſſacre the king and all his family, the conſtable, and all the principal perſons of his party. The ſame diſcord which raged in all other parts of the State of France.

[59] T. Elmham, c. 31. p. 73.
[60] Id. ibid.
[61] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 398.

A.D. 1416. kingdom reigned in the royal family. The queen, excluded from any ſhare in the management of affairs by the conſtable, retired to Vincennes, where ſhe kept a moſt licentious and luxurious court. This gave the conſtable an opportunity of ſeizing all her treaſures, which were very great, and of inflaming the jealouſy of the king to ſuch a pitch, that he ſent her under a guard to Tours, and commanded her favourite Louis Bourbon to be put up in a ſack, and thrown into the Seine. Theſe cruel injuries inſpired that princeſs with the moſt implacable reſentment againſt the conſtable and all his party; not excepting her own ſon Charles, now become dauphin by the death of his two elder brothers [62]. In a word, all the furies ſeemed to have taken up their reſidence in France, and to have conſpired the deſtruction of that kingdom.

A.D. 1417. Second invaſion of France

Such was the ſtate of France when Henry V. landed, Auguſt 1, A. D. 1417, near Touques in Normandy, with a gallant army of 16,000 men at arms and archers, ſome thouſands of pikemen and other troops, with many miners, maſons, carpenters, a great train of artillery and other engines, from a fleet of 1500 ſhips [63]. When he had diſembarked his troops, he publiſhed ſome excellent regulations for the preſervation of diſcipline, and protection of the clergy, of wives, widows, and maidens, from all inſults [64]. It is unneceſſary to attend this victorious prince, ſtep by ſtep, in his triumphant march, or enumerate all the places that

[62] Villar, tom. 13. p. 410—426.

[63] Tit. Livii, p. 31, 32, 33. T. Elmham. p. 92. 96, 97. Otterbourn, p. 278. [64] T. Walſing. p 397.

ſubmitted

ſubmitted to his arms. There was no army to oppoſe him in the field; moſt of the towns were ill fortified, and worſe garriſoned; and, expecting no relief, ſurrendered, as ſoon as they were ſummoned. His proceeding appeared more like the progreſs of a prince in his own dominions, than the march of an invader in an enemy's country; and all the lower Normandy was reduced in this campaign. A. D. 1417.

At the ſame time, the progreſs of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was no leſs rapid. That prince, carefully concealing his connection with the king of England, pretended to carry on the war againſt the Armagnacs, who, he declared, were enemies to the ſtate, and held the king and royal family in durance. Beſides a powerful army, with which he advanced towards the capital, where the court reſided, he had many friends and emiſſaries in all parts of the kingdom, who prevailed upon many great men to embrace his party, and on many towns to open their gates to his troops. On his march, he received a meſſage from the queen (who had long been the moſt violent of all his enemies, for the murder of her favourite the duke of Orleans), entreating him to relieve her from her confinement, and promiſing to promote all his views. Senſible of the advantage of having that bold and active princeſs in his party, or rather in his poſſeſſion, he flew to her reſcue, at the head of 800 horſe, ſurpriſed her keepers, and conducted her to Chartres. There ſhe iſſued a proclamation, declaring her right to be regent of the kingdom during the incapacity of the king, her huſband; and imme- Proceedings of the duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1417. immediately entered on the exerciſe of that right, by conſtituting a new parliament, appointing a conſtable, chancellor, and other officers of ſtate, &c. Thus the two parties which had ſo long torn France in pieces, were more regularly formed than ever; the Armagnacs acting under the authority of the dauphin, and the Burgundians under the authority of the queen. Both theſe parties negotiated with the king of England, and with one another, but without either ſincerity or ſucceſs; and the war between them was carried on with the greateſt inveteracy [65].

A. D. 1418. Military operations of the Engliſh. While one half of the people of France were attempting to ſubdue the other, the king of England proceeded with great rapidity in ſubduing both. Having received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, he gave the command of ſeparate bodies of troops to his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, with which they reduced many ſtrong places [66]. In the ſpring and ſummer of this year, all Normandy, except Cherbourg and Rouen, ſubmitted to the arms of England; and the duke of Glouceſter beſieged the former while the king inveſted the latter, July 29. Cherbourg, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, ſurrendered, September 29: but the king finding that he could not take Rouen (which was defended by 19,000 men) by force, without too great an ex-

65 Villar, tom. 13. p. 439, &c.

66 T. Elmham, c. 53, 56, 57, 58. Walſing. p. 400. Tit. Liv. p. 40—51.

pence

pence of blood, converted the ſiege into a blockade, in order to reduce it by famine. A. D. 1418.

Henry, as wiſe as he was brave, employed policy as well as power to promote the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe. By a proclamation, he promiſed protection and the peaceable enjoyment of all their goods and privileges, to all who ſubmitted to his authority, and appointed commiſſioners in every diſtrict to receive the ſubmiſſions of the people [67]. He aboliſhed the gabelle, and diminiſhed the tax on ſalt, and ſome other taxes [68]. He maintained the moſt perfect diſcipline among his troops, and ſuffered none of his ſoldiers to inſult or injure the peaceable inhabitants. To all who approached his perſon, he behaved with the moſt winning affability, hearing their complaints with patience, and redreſſing their wrongs with Juſtice. By theſe wiſe meaſures, he ſubdued the hearts of the people of Normandy, who crowded to pay their ſubmiſſion to ſo great and good a prince. Wiſe policy of Henry.

While Henry was thus ſucceſsfully employed in aſſerting his claim to the crown of France, the two parties in that kingdom were too keenly engaged in deſtroying one another to give him any interruption. The conſtable d'Armagnac, having diſcovered a plot to betray Paris to the duke of Burgundy, made the ſcaffolds ſtream with blood, and meditated a maſſacre of all the Burgundian party in the capital. This ſeverity only ſerved to render him more odious, and to haſten his own deſtruc- Maſſacre of Paris.

[67] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 573. [68] Id. ibid. p. 583.

tion.

A. D. 1418. tion. Perrinet le Clerk admitted L'Iſle Adam, a captain of the duke of Burgundy, with 800 men at arms, into Paris on the night of May 29. This troop marched in profound ſilence to the Chatelet, where they were joined by 500 citizens who were in the plot. They then divided into different bodies, went to the houſes of the miniſters of ſtate, and other obnoxious perſons, ſeized them, and threw them into priſon. Tanneguy de Chaſtel, provoſt of Paris, ſaved the dauphin, by ruſhing into his chamber on the firſt alarm, taking him out of bed, and carrying him in his arms to the Baſtile, from whence he eſcaped to Melun. The conſtable, who was the chief object of their indignation, eluded their moſt eager ſearches for ſome time; but was at length diſcovered by a maſon, in whoſe houſe he had taken ſhelter, and conducted to priſon. Next morning the populace of Paris, inſtigated by the friends of the duke of Burgundy, began the moſt horrid outrages, inſulting, plundering, and impriſoning all to whom they gave the name of Armagnacs; and theſe outrages continued till all the priſons were filled, and a great part of the city deſtroyed. But the moſt bloody ſcene of this tragedy was ſtill to come. As ſoon as the queen and duke of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, heard of this revolution, they ſent intimations to their confidential friends, that it would be proper to put all the Armagnacs to death. When they received this cruel intimation they circulated reports, that the Armagnacs were about to enter the city by ſurpriſe, to releaſe the conſtable and other priſoners,

and

and murder all the Burgundians. Enraged to madneſs by theſe reports, the populace, June 12, broke into the priſons, and butchered the guards and priſoners without diſtinction. In the firſt three days of this maſſacre, beſides the conſtable, chancellor, and ſix biſhops, 3500 perſons, many of them eminent for their rank and character, were put to death. After the triumphant entry of the queen and duke, while the ſtreets were ſtained with blood, the maſſacre was renewed, and about 14,000 perſons (of which 5000 were women) ſlain[69]. How dangerous a paſſion is party-rage, which ſometimes corrupts the beſt hearts, blinds the beſt underſtandings, and endangers the moſt powerful ſtates! A.D. 1418.

Negotiations.

The two parties in France were ſo far from giving any interruption to Henry while he was engaged in the ſiege of Rouen, that both courted his protection, and each endeavoured to make him more tempting offers than the other. He negotiated with both, without ſuſpending or relaxing his military operations for one moment[70]. A truce was concluded with the young earl of Armagnac, the earl of Dreux, and other French barons, who haraſſed his ſubjects in Guienne; which reſtored tranquillity to his dominions in thoſe parts[71]. A curious detail of the negotiations with the dauphin, which hath been publiſhed, proves, that Henry was as great a politician as a general, and that it was as difficult to deceive him in the cabinet as to

69 Villar, t. 13. p 461—475. T. Walſing. p 490.

70 Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 628—635.

71 Id. ibid. p. 602.

A. D. 1418. defeat him in the field [72]. Both theſe, and the negotiations with the other party, which were carried on at the ſame time, proved abortive; and it was probably never intended that they ſhould have any ſucceſs.

A. D. 1419. Surrender of Rouen. While Henry amuſed both the parties of the French with theſe negotiations, he carried on the ſiege of Rouen, ſecure from any interruption. That great and beautiful city, which contained about 200,000 inhabitants, was bravely defended by its citizens, who would probably have rendered all the efforts of the Engliſh ineffectual, if they had not been aſſaulted by an enemy whoſe attacks are irreſiſtible. Sufficient ſtores of proviſions had not been laid up for ſo great a multitude; and before the end of October 1418, their magazines were nearly exhauſted. They ſubſiſted for ſome time on a ſcanty allowance of horſe-fleſh, till all their horſes were conſumed. They then fed on dogs, cats, rats, and mice, which ſold at ſo high a price, that they could only be procured by the rich. About 50,000 perſons died of hunger, or of diſeaſes contracted by the uſe of unwholeſome food. During all that time they were cruelly tantalized by the duke of Burgundy, with promiſes of relief, which he never intended, or at leaſt never attempted to perform. At length unable to ſubſiſt, and deſpairing of relief, they propoſed to capitulate. Henry, irritated at their obſtinate reſiſtance, inſiſted on their ſurrendering at diſcretion; which

[72] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 632—646.

they

they refuſed. Informed by Boutcullur the governor, with whom he held a private correſpondence, that they had reſolved to ſet their city on fire in all quarters, and then to ruſh out, and either to cut their way, or periſh with their arms in their hands, he granted them more moderate terms. The capitulation was concluded January 13, A. D. 1419, by which the town and caſtle, with all ammunition and implements of war, were to be ſurrendered to the king of England on the 19th of that month; the garriſon to take an oath not to ſerve againſt him for one year; the citizens to pay a ranſom of 300,000 crowns, and, upon taking an oath of fealty, to enjoy all their property and privileges. The ſurrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the other places of ſtrength in Normandy[73]. A. D. 1419.

The loſs of Normandy greatly alarmed both the parties of the French; and ſuch of them as were not blinded by party-rage, earneſtly laboured to bring about a reconciliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, as the only means of ſaving their country. The duke ſecretly wiſhed for this; but his advances not meeting with ſuitable returns, he renewed his negotiations with the king of England. To render theſe negotiations more ſolemn and effectual, and probably with a view on the part of the duke to give the greater alarm to the dauphin, and to make him more tractable, it was agreed, April 7, that the king of England Interview of Henry with the French court.

[73] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 664. 674. 677, 678, 679. 682, 683, &c. T. Elmham, cap. 70, 71.

A. D. 1419. ſhould have a perſonal interview with the king and queen of France, the princeſs Katharine, and the duke of Burgundy, on May 15, between Mante and Pontoyes[74]. This interview did not happen till May 30, when all theſe illuſtrious perſonages (except the king of France, who was indiſpoſed) met for the firſt time, in a magnificent tent, at a place called *La Chat*[75]. The queen of France did not neglect to conduct her beautiful daughter, the princeſs Katharine, to this interview, and carefully watching the eyes of the king of England, obſerved with joy, that he was captivated by her charms. An adept in all the arts of amorous intrigue, ſhe ſecreted the princeſs from his ſight for ſeveral days, in order to inflame his paſſion. But Henry courted as a conqueror, and deſpiſed theſe little arts. "I will have your princeſs (ſaid "he to the duke of Burgundy) on my own terms, "or I will drive both your king and you out of "the kingdom." "Sir (replied the duke), it "will fatigue you very much to drive us both "out[76]." The duke, diſguſted at the haughtineſs of Henry, and the exorbitancy of his demands, protracted the negotiation, in hopes that the dauphin would make advances to him for an accommodation. Theſe hopes were at length gratified. The dauphin, dreading the conſequences of this interview between his two moſt powerful enemies, ſent a truſty agent to Pontoyes to propoſe a recon-

[74] Elmham, p. 717—727.
[75] Id. p. 752.
[76] Villar, tom. 14. p. 33.

ciliation

ciliation to the duke; which being equally desired by both parties, were ſoon concluded. The duke then broke off the conferences with the king of England, June 30, and had an interview with the dauphin at Poilly-le-Fort, in which theſe princes gave each other every poſſible mark of the moſt perfect amity, and ratified their reconciliation by the moſt ſacred rites of religion [77]. The reconciliation of theſe two princes was celebrated by illuminations and other demonſtrations of joy, in all the towns of France. A. D. 1419.

Perplexed ſituation of Henry.

Henry, thus deluded by the duke of Burgundy, found himſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation. His hopes of ſucceſs were chiefly founded on the animoſity of the French parties, which he believed to be implacable; and he now ſaw them united when he leaſt expected it. He had only about 25,000 men to preſerve his conqueſt of Normandy, and make head againſt all the forces of a mighty kingdom. The kings of Caſtile and Arragon were arming in favour of the dauphin, and the Scots had embraced the ſame party [78]. His treaſury, and even his credit, was exhauſted; his own ſubjects diſcontented at the expence of the war, and beginning to apprehend that the conqueſt of France would be the ruin of England.

Aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy.

Undaunted by all theſe difficulties, Henry reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour; probably imagining that ſo ſudden a coalition between ſuch inveterate enemies could not be of long duration.

[77] Villar, t. 14. p. 35. Elmham, cap. 78.

[78] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9 p. 794.

A. D. 1419. However this may be, an event ſoon happened, which relieved him from all his difficulties, and gave him a fairer proſpect than ever of obtaining the crown of France. That was the aſſaſſination of the duke of Burgundy, September 10, on the bridge of Monteraux, by the attendants of the dauphin, as he was engaged in a conference with that prince[79]. What prompted the dauphin, or rather his counſellors, to this raſh and criminal action, is not certainly known; but it involved his country in many and great calamities.

Conſequences of this aſſaſſination.

As ſoon as the news of this aſſaſſination reached Paris, where the late duke had always been exceedingly popular, the whole city was in a tumult; and the citizens of all ranks expreſſed the moſt violent reſentment againſt the dauphin and his adherents; and the other cities of France, of the Burgundian party, imitated the example of the capital. The court of France, which then reſided at Troyes, was affected in the ſame manner, and a declaration of war was denounced againſt the dauphin, at the inſtigation of the queen, the implacable enemy of her ſon. Nothing could equal the fury of Philip duke of Charolois now duke of Burgundy, when he heard of his father's murder. The deſire of revenge took poſſeſſion of his whole ſoul, and rendered him blind to every other conſideration. All theſe enemies of the dauphin turned their eyes to the king of England, determined to deny him nothing to engage him to aſſiſt them in gratifying their revenge[80].

[79] Villar, t. 14. p. 44. T. Elmham, c. 83. [80] Villar, t. 14. p. 55—61.

In

In conſequence of theſe diſpoſitions, conferences were held at Arras by the miniſters of the kings of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy; and the moſt important articles of a treaty of peace between theſe princes were ſettled December 2, *viz.* That Henry ſhould marry the princeſs Katharine, without any expence to her parents or the kingdom; that king Charles ſhould enjoy the crown of France, with all its powers and revenues, during life, and his queen Iſabella all the privileges of her rank; that Henry ſhould be regent of France during the incapacity of Charles for government, and ſucceed to the crown at his death [81]. A general truce between the kings of France and England, with ſeparate treaties between each of theſe kings, and the duke of Burgundy, for aſſiſting him in avenging the murder of his father, were concluded at the ſame time and place [82].

A.D. 1419. Treaty of Arrras.

Though the moſt important articles of this confederacy were ſettled by the treaties of Arras, many particulars ſtill remained to be adjuſted; and on theſe the miniſters of the contracting powers laboured during the four firſt months of the year 1420. At length, when all things were ready, Henry marched at the head of an army of 16,000 men, from Pontoyes to Troyes where the court of France then reſided There, May 21, the large and definitive treaty of peace, conſiſting of thirty-one articles, was ſigned, ſealed, and ſworn to by the king of England, in his own name, and by the queen of France and duke of Burgundy, by commiſſion from

A. D. 1420. Treaty of Troyes.

81 Rym Fœd. tom. 9. p. 816. 82 Id. ibid. p. 818—829, 840.

A. D. 1420. and in the name of Charles VI. king of France [83]. Copies of this famous treaty were ſent into England, and publiſhed in London, and all the other cities and towns of the kingdom, with every poſſible demonſtration of joy [84]. It was proclaimed in Paris, and all the other cities of France, of the Burgundian party, with equal ſolemnity and joy [85]. In a word, no treaty ever occaſioned greater joy when it was made, or produced greater calamities in the end. So ſhort-ſighted is human policy, and ſo little do nations, as well as individuals, know of the diſtant conſequences of events!

Henry's marriage. King Henry and the princeſs Catherine were affianced on the ſame day, May 21, and their nuptials were ſolemnized on Trinity Sunday, May 30, with great pomp [86].

Military operations. Henry, willing to proſecute his good fortune, and reduce the dauphin and his party (commonly called the *Armagnacs*) while they were unpopular, on the third day after his marriage inveſted the city of Sens, which ſurrendered in a few days [87]. On the 13th July, he laid ſiege to Melun, where he met with a much more obſtinate reſiſtance. The kings of France and Scotland were preſent at this ſiege, which was puſhed with uncommon vigour. The place held out till November 18, and was compelled at laſt to ſurrender by famine, rather than by the efforts of the Engliſh, who loſt 1700 men before its walls [88].

[83] Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 895—905. [84] Id. ibid. p. 906.
[85] Id ibid. p. 910. [86] Id. ibid. J. de Urſins, p. 379.
[87] T. Elmham, c. 92.
[88] T. Walſing. p. 403. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 30.

After

After the ſurrender of Melun, Henry, accompanied by the king and queen of France, the duke of Burgundy, and many other perſons of rank, marched his army to Paris, where his authority as regent and heir of France had been cheerfully acknowledged. The two kings made their public entry into Paris on the firſt Sunday in Advent, and the two queens the day after, and were entertained by the citizens with the repreſentation of myſteries, and other faſhionable amuſements [89]. On the 10th of December, an aſſembly of the three eſtates was held, with great ſolemnity, in the great hall of the palace of St. Paul; in which the treaty of Troyes, called the final and perpetual peace, was confirmed, and declared to be a public and perpetual law of the kingdom; and an act was made, requiring all the ſubjects to take the oaths required by that treaty [90]. A. D. 1420. Henry's entry into Paris.

The duke of Burgundy having appeared in mourning before the three eſtates, December 23, and demanded juſtice to be executed on the murderers of his father, a ſentence of condemnation was pronounced againſt Charles, the pretended dauphin (as he was called), and his accomplices in that murder; and they were declared guilty of high treaſon, and incapable of ſucceeding to or poſſeſſing any place of power and dignity [91]. Dauphin condemned.

Henry having brought his affairs in France to this deſirable point, and conſtituted his brother the duke of Clarence his lieutenant, he conducted his young queen into England, where ſhe was crowned, A. D. 1421. Coronation of the queen.

[89] T. Walſing. p. 403. Elmham, c. 105. Villar, t. 14. p. 105.
[90] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10 p. 30. [91] Id. ibid. p. 33.

A.D. 1421. February 22, with extraordinary pomp and ſplendour [92].

Death of the duke of Clarence.

After the coronation, the king, with his queen and court, made a progreſs into the north, and celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter at York [93]. At Beverly he received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his brother the duke of Clarence, who had fallen, March 22, near the caſtle of Baugé, in a battle againſt an army of 7000 Scots, which had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the dauphin, under the command of the earl of Buchan, ſecond ſon to Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland [94]. Many other noblemen were ſlain in this action, and a ſtill greater number taken priſoners. Greatly affected by this intelligence, he haſtened to Weſtminſter, and applied with ardour to raiſing men and money for an expedition to the continent. From a parliament, which met May 2, he obtained a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy, with a ratification of the treaty of Troyes [95].

Military operations.

Henry conſtituted his brother John duke of Bedford regent of England; and, embarking at Dover June 10, with a gallant army, landed next day at Calais [96]. Having marched this army into Normandy, and made a ſhort viſit to the king and queen of France at Paris, he haſtened to the relief of Chartres, which was beſieged by the dauphin; who raiſed the ſiege on the news of his approach [97].

[92] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 49. T. Elmham. c. 114
[93] Elmham, c. 113. 115. [94] Id. c. 104.
[95] T. Walſing. p. 404. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 110.
[96] Id. ibid. p. 129. Elmham, c. 116. [97] Id. c. 117.

Henry,

Henry, finding it impoſſible to overtake the enemy, and bring them to an action, employed his army in reducing Dreux (which capitulated Auguſt 20) and ſeveral other towns and caſtles [98]. Receiving intelligence that the dauphin, with his army, lay encamped near Beaugency on the Loire, he marched with great rapidity towards that place, in hopes of terminating the war by a battle. But on his approach the enemy's army ſeparated. The Engliſh army ſuffered much in this march by ſickneſs and ſcarcity of proviſions; which obliged Henry, after taking Beaugency, and ſome other towns, to return towards Paris, and put his troops into quarters of refreſhment [99]. A. D. 1421.

Impatient of long repoſe, he ſoon called his forces again into the field, and on October 6, formed the ſiege of Meaux. This was one of the ſtrongeſt towns in France; and that quarter of it called the *Market place* was eſteemed impregnable. The garriſon commanded by the baſtard of Vaurus, almoſt deſolated the country around, and hanged, without mercy, all the Engliſh who fell into their hands, on a certain tree called the *Oak of Vaurus*. At the earneſt requeſt of the Pariſians, and to revenge theſe cruelties; Henry engaged in this ſiege, in which no quarter was given on either ſide. The town was taken by ſtorm in winter, and the market-place ſurrendered May 10, A. D. 1422. The ferocious Vaurus was hanged on his own oak; and Seige of Meaux.

[98] Elmham, c. 118. [99] Id. c. 119, 120.

A. D. 1421. a few of the moſt criminal of the garriſon were tried and executed at Paris [100].

A.D.1422. Birth of prince Henry. While the king lay with his army before Meaux, he received the agreeable news that the queen was delivered of a ſon, at Windſor, December 6, A. D. 1421. He was ſoon after baptiſed by the name of Henry; the duke of Bedford, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and Jaqueline counteſs of Hainault and Holland (who proved the cauſe of many misfortunes to the infant prince), being ſponſors [101]. The queen, on her recovery, returned to France, and joined the king in his camp before Meaux. A few days after the ſurrender of that place, they made their public entry into Paris, and celebrated the feſtival of Whitſuntide at the Louvre, with great magnificence [102].

King's ſickneſs. The dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Caſtile, had collected an army of about 20,000 men, commanded by the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, with which, after taking la Charity, he beſieged Coſne, a town, on the Loire, belonging to the duke of Burgundy.

The garriſon agreed to ſurrender, if they were not relieved before the 16th of Auguſt. When the duke received intelligence of this, he collected all his troops, and requeſted a reinforcement from the king of England, to aſſiſt him in the relief of Coſne. The king anſwered, that he would march with him in perſon, at the head of his army, that he might have a ſhare in the glory of ending the war,

[100] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 212. Elmham, c. 22, 23, 25, 26.
[101] T. Walſing. p. 406. [102] Id. ibid. Elmham, c. 126.

by defeating the dauphin. He marched accordingly; but on his arrival at Senlis, he was ſeized with a feveriſh diſorder, attended with very threatening ſymptoms. He was carried in a horſe-litter to Corbeyle; but being unable to proceed any further, he gave the command of the army to his brother the duke of Bedford (who had accompanied the queen from England), and returned by water to Bois de Vincennes [103]. A. D. 1422.

At the approach of the Engliſh and Burgundian armies, the dauphin raiſed the ſiege of Coſne, not daring to riſk a battle; the loſs of which would have been very fatal to his affairs. The duke of Bedford and the earl of Warwick haſtened back to the king, and found him almoſt at the point of death. At the ſight of his beloved brother, and moſt faithful friend, he ſummoned up all his remaining ſtrength, and addreſſed them to this purpoſe. He thanked them for their love and ſervices, and earneſtly intreated them to love and ſerve his ſon with the ſame fidelity and zeal. He deſired them to cultivate the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy with the greateſt care, and to make him an offer of the regency of France; but if he declined it, he appointed his brother, the duke of Bedford, to that high office, and his other brother, the duke of Glouceſter, to the regency of England, which he then poſſeſſed. To the earl of Warwick he committed the care of the perſon and education of his ſon. He conjured them to conſole his diſconſolate queen, and to maintain love and Henry's death.

[103] Elmham, c. 127. Walſing. p. 406.

concord

A.D. 1422. concord amongſt his friends. He gave them in charge, not to liberate the duke of Orleans, and the other noble priſoners, while his ſon was under age; nor to make peace with France, without obtaining Normandy at leaſt in full ſovereignty [104]. Exhauſted by this effort, he ſoon after expired, Auguſt 31, A. D. 1422, in the 34th year of his age, after a ſhort but glorious reign of nine years, five months, and fourteen days [105].

His character. Thus died, in the prime of life, and in the full career of glory, Henry V. one of the beſt, braveſt, and moſt fortunate princes that ever wore the diadem of England. His perſon is thus deſcribed by one who had often ſeen him: "In ſtature he "was a little above the middle ſize; his counte- "nance was beautiful, his neck long, his body "ſlender, and his limbs moſt elegantly formed. "He was very ſtrong, and ſo ſwift, that, with "two companions, without either dogs or miſſive "weapons, he catched a doe, one of the fleeteſt "animals. He was a lover of muſic, and excelled "in all martial and manly exerciſes [106]." Some of our contemporary hiſtorians have heaped upon this prince with a liberal but injudicious hand, all the praiſes they could collect, expreſſed in the moſt extravagant and bombaſtic language [107]. It may, however, be affirmed, without the leaſt exaggeration, that he poſſeſſed an excellent underſtanding, which enabled him to form his deſigns with judg-

104 Elmham, c. 27.
105 Walſing. p. 407.
106 Tit. Livii Vita Hen. V. p. 4.
107 Elmham, c. 128. *et paſſim.*

ment,

ment, and to chuſe the moſt effectual means, and favourable ſeaſons, for carrying them into execution. His heart was as warm as his head was cool, and his courage equal to his wiſdom, which emboldened him to encounter the greateſt dangers and ſurmount the greateſt difficulties. His virtues were not inferior to his abilities, being a dutiful ſon, a fond huſband, an affectionate brother, a ſteady and generous friend, and an indulgent maſter. His youthful exceſſes proceeded rather from redundancy of ſpirit than depravity of heart. His intolerance and ſeverity to thoſe who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religion, was the vice of the age rather than of the man. The injuſtice of his attempt to obtain the crown of France cannot be denied; but the probability of its ſucceſs, from the diſtracted ſtate of that kingdom, was too great a temptation to be reſiſted by a young, warlike, and ambitious prince. In a word, Henry V. though not without his failings, merits the character of an amiable and accompliſhed man, a great and good king. A. D. 1422.

SECTION III.

The civil and military hiſtory of England, from the acceſſion of Henry VI. A. D. 1422, *to the acceſſion of Edward* IV. A. D. 1461.

HENRY VI. the only child of Henry V. was not quite nine months old at the death of his illuſtrious father. That melancholy event ſeems A. D. 1422. Acceſſion of Henry VI.

to

A. D. 1422. to have been kept ſecret for ſome time; for the infant prince was not proclaimed king in London till October 1 [1]. Some commotions were raiſed in the marches of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, on this occaſion; but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed [2].

Parliament. A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, November 9, in which the duke of Glouceſter repreſented the king's perſon by commiſſion [3]. Though the people of England lamented the death, and revered the memory, of their late king, the parliament did not think proper to confirm all the verbal arrangements he had made in his laſt moments. Diſliking the title of regent, as implying too much power, they appointed the duke of Bedford protector of the kingdom and church of England, and chief counſellor of the king, when he reſided in the kingdom, with a ſalary of 8000 marks a-year; and the duke of Glouceſter to exerciſe the ſame office, with the ſame powers and emoluments, when his brother was abroad [4]. Still further to limit the power of the protector, a council was conſtituted, with which he was to conſult on all important affairs, and a certain ſalary granted to each member, according to his rank [5]. Several wiſe regulations were alſo made for defining the powers and privileges of the members of this council, and for ſecuring their attendance.

State of affairs in France. The affairs of the dauphin were almoſt deſperate before the death of Henry V. which a little re-

[1] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 254. [2] Id. ibid. p. 254.
[3] Id. ibid. p. 257. [4] Id. ibid. p. 261. 268. [5] Id. ibid. p. 360.

vived

vived his hopes. He did not, however, reap any immediate advantage from that event; nor did his affairs put on a more favourable aſpect for ſome time. John duke of Bedford, regent of France, was hardly inferior to the late king in wiſdom, valour, or any commendable quality; he even excelled him in clemency and command of temper. He was nobly ſupported by the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and Arundel, the brave and generous Talbot, and other generals, at the head of valiant and victorious troops. About two third parts of France, with the capital, were in the hands of the Engliſh and Burgundians; and they received frequent ſupplies, both of men and money, from England and Flanders. The duke of Britanny, who had hitherto remained neuter, acceded to the treaty of Troyes immediately after the king's death, and brought an acceſſion of ſtrength to the Engliſh intereſt. The military operations proceeded without much interruption, or any remarkable change of fortune, for a conſiderable time. A.D. 1422.

Charles VI. of France did not long ſurvive his ſon-in-law the king of England; but ended his unhappy life, and calamitous reign, in great obſcurity, at his palace of St. Paul in Paris, October 21, A.D. 1422. This event, though afflictive to the dauphin as a ſon, was of great advantage to his affairs. Very many of the people of France, of all ranks, who, from a principle of loyalty, had thought themſelves obliged to obey Charles as their king, though they diſapproved of his connections Death of Charles VI.

A.D.1422. connections with the Engliſh, and dreaded the ſubjection of their country to a foreign yoke, now turned their eyes towards the dauphin, as their lawful ſovereign, and determined to ſupport his title to the crown. A kind of interregnum ſucceeded the death of Charles VI. the parliament of Paris declining to uſe the name of Henry VI. of England in any of their acts, till about three weeks after, when Henry was proclaimed king of France, in Paris, by command of the duke of Bedford [6].

Acceſſion of Charles VII.

When the news of the death of Charles VI. reached the caſtle of Eſpally, where the dauphin then reſided, he was immediately proclaimed king of France by his followers, and was crowned a few days after, at Poictiers, with all the ſolemnity his circumſtances would permit [7].

State of Charles VII. at his acceſſion.

The affairs of Charles VII. at his acceſſion were in a very low ſtate, and ſeemingly almoſt deſperate. He was only about twenty years of age, and of a character very unfit for ſurmounting great difficulties, being indolent rather than active, and more addicted to pleaſure than to war or buſineſs; his queen, Mary of Anjou, was a princeſs of great beauty and virtue; but ſhe did not poſſeſs the heart of her voluptuous huſband, which was devoted to his miſtreſs, Agnes Sorrel; his favourites and miniſters were neither men of great virtues nor great abilities; his finances were ſo low, that he could hardly ſupport his little court in decent plenty: the duke of Britanny, one of the greateſt vaſſals of his crown, had declared againſt him:

6 Villar, tom. 14. p. 172. 7 Id. ibid. p. 264.

the duke of Burgundy, the moſt powerful prince of his family, was his mortal enemy: ſeveral of the other princes of his blood, as the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Angouleſme, and Vendome, were priſoners in England: the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of his capital, and two thirds of his kingdom: no foreign nation had eſpouſed his cauſe, except the Scots. But in the midſt of all theſe diſadvantages, he poſſeſſed one advantage, the full extent and value of which he did not know;—he had the hearts of all the people of France, who hated the Engliſh and loved their country. A. D. 1422.

French ſwear fealty to Henry.

While the adherents of Charles were crowning him at Poictiers, the duke of Bedford held a great aſſembly at Paris, conſiſting of the parliament, the univerſity, the archbiſhop and his clergy, the magiſtrates and chief burgeſſes of that city, who all ſwore fealty to Henry VI. king of England, as king of France. The ſame ceremony was performed in all the other cities, towns, and provinces of France, in ſubjection to the Engliſh and Burgundians[8]. Thus there were two kings of France; and which of them ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom, was to be decided by the ſword, the laſt argument of kings.

A. D. 1423. Treaty of Amiens.

The duke of Bedford ſpent the firſt months of this year in fixing the duke of Britanny in the Engliſh intereſt. With this view, he had a meeting at Amiens with that duke, his brother Arthur earl of Richmond, and the duke of Burgundy. At

[8] Villar, tom. 14. p. 266.

that

A. D. 1423. that meeting, theſe princes entered into a ſtrict alliance, and ſolemnly ſwore to love one another as brothers as long as they lived. To cement this union, one marriage was contracted between the duke of Bedford and the princeſs Anne, youngeſt ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy, and another between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Margaret, an elder ſiſter of that duke; and theſe marriages were ſoon after ſolemnized [9]. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, what regard theſe great princes and ſworn brothers paid to their oaths and engagements.

Military operations. As ſoon as the ſeaſon for taking the field arrived, France became a theatre of war almoſt from one end to the other. A minute detail of ſkirmiſhes, the taking and retaking of trifling towns and caſtles, could afford no entertainment to any reader. I ſhall therefore only mention ſuch events as were of ſome importance towards the deciſion of this fatal conteſt.

Battle of Crevant. James Stewart, lord Darnley, at the head of the Scotch auxiliaries, and the marſhal Severac, with a body of French troops, in July beſieged Crevant in Burgundy; and the earl of Saliſbury, marching an army of Engliſh and Burgundians to its relief, a bloody battle was fought, in which the French baſely deſerted their allies, and the Engliſh and Burgundians obtained a complete victory. The loſs fell chiefly on the Scots, of whom, it is ſaid, 3000 were killed, and 2000, with their general, taken [10].

9 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 280. 10 Hall, Hen. VI. f. 4.

Charles,

Charles, ſoon after this great loſs, which had almoſt ruined his affairs, received a body of auxiliaries from the duke of Milan; who, with ſome French troops, ſurpriſed the Burgundian marſhal, Toulongion, and took him priſoner, with 600 men. Toulongion was exchanged for the Scotch general, James lord Darnley. The French royaliſts, towards the end of this campaign, defeated, at Graville in Maine, a body of Engliſh, commanded by ſir John de la Pole, who, with ſeveral other gentlemen, was taken priſoner [11]. A. D. 1423. Succeſſes of the French.

The earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, had viſited his native country; and, by his intereſt with his brother, Murdoch duke of Albany, the regent, obtained a reinforcement of 5000 men, with which he and Archibald earl of Douglas landed at Roch elle. This was a moſt ſeaſonable aid to Charles in his diſtreſs; for which he expreſſed his gratitude, by granting the dukedom of Touraine to the earl of Douglas, and the lordſhip of Aubigné to James Lord Darnley. He further expreſſed his confidence in the Scots, by committing the guard of his perſon to a ſelect body of that nation [12]. Reinforcement from Scotland.

The ſpring of this year, like that of the laſt, was ſpent in beſieging and ſurpriſing places of little conſequence. In ſummer an Engliſh army, commanded by the earl of Saliſbury, beſieged Ivry, a place of ſome importance, on account of its ſtrength and ſituation. The governor, after a brave defence, agreed to ſurrender, if he was not A. D. 1424. Battle of Verneuil.

[11] Hall, Hen. VI. f. 5.

[12] Buchanan, l. 10. Villar, tom. 14. p. 291.

A. D. 1424. relieved before the 15th of Auguſt. King Charles, by collecting his troops, made up an army conſiſting of 7000 Scots, 1500 Italians, and 10,000 French, commanded by the earl of Douglas, lately created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who marched to the relief of Ivry, and came within ſight of it, Auguſt 13. On taking a view of the Engliſh camp (into which the duke of Bedford, with all his troops he could collect, had entered a few days before), he found it ſo ſtrong that it could not be forced. He therefore retired, and inveſted Verneuil in Perche. As ſoon as Ivry ſurrendered, the duke of Bedford marched towards Verneuil, to raiſe the ſiege or give the enemy battle. At his arrival the town being taken, he choſe convenient ground, and prepared for a general action, which he earneſtly deſired. The earl of Douglas called a council to determine whether it would be moſt prudent to fight, or to avoid a battle. The wiſer members of the council declared for retiring, and gave the moſt cogent reaſons for their opinion. But a great number of young French noblemen loudly inſiſted upon fighting; and that raſh council was adopted, and as raſhly executed: for inſtead of chuſing proper ground for themſelves, they advanced, in a diſorderly manner, to attack the Engliſh in their advantageous ſtation. This was owing to the viſcount de Narbonne, who led on his troops without orders, and was followed by many others, in ſpite of all the general could do to reſtrain them; for being a foreigner, and an object of envy, he had not

ſufficient

ſufficient authority. The duke of Bedford had drawn up his archers, on whom he chiefly relied, in one line with their ſharp-pointed ſtakes before them. The Italians fled at the firſt diſcharge of the Engliſh archers. The French and Scots fought with great bravery, and held the victory in ſuſpence almoſt three hours; but at length were entirely defeated, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, the earl of Douglas, and his ſon lord James, ſir Alexander Meldrum, and many other Scotchmen of rank and merit, fell in this fatal action. Of the French, four earls, two viſcounts, eight barons, and 300 knights were ſlain. The young duke of Alençon was dangerouſly wounded, and taken priſoner, with the marſhal Fayette, and many other lords and gentlemen. The Engliſh left above 2000 of their men dead on this field of blood, and their enemies above double that number[13]. A. D. 1424.

The affairs of Charles VII. ſeemed now quite deſperate. He had loſt his only army, and had no means of raiſing another: his moſt powerful friends were either killed or taken priſoners: the king of Scotland was ſet at liberty, and had made a ſeven years truce with England; which deprived him of all hopes of any further aid from that quarter: he was himſelf devoted to pleaſure, and governed by worthleſs favourites. Bad ſtate of France.

But notwithſtanding all theſe unpromiſing appearances, the ſituation of this prince was not ſo hopeleſs as either he or the world imagined. The Diſcord between the Engliſh and their allies.

[13] Hall, Hen. VI. f. 8. Villar, tom. 14. p. 296—299.

A.D. 1424. ſeeds of diſcord between the Engliſh and their allies were already ſown, and ſoon came to maturity. Jaqueline, heireſs of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, who was married to her couſin John duke of Brabant, by the influence of the duke of Burgundy, couſin-german to them both, diſliked her huſband, and made her eſcape into England a little before the death of Henry V. by whom ſhe was hoſpitably entertained. The duke of Glouceſter caſt his eyes on this great heireſs, and married her, though her former marriage was not diſſolved. The duke of Burgundy was greatly irritated at this ſtep; but the duke of Bedford found means to calm his anger, and kept it within bounds, as long as the duke of Brabant was not diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of his wife's dominions. This, however, was not very long: for as the duke of Glouceſter had been prompted to this fatal marriage by ambition more than love, he became impatient to ſeize the ſplendid inheritance of his wife. With this view he raiſed an army in England this ſummer, with which he landed at Calais in October, a few weeks after the battle of Verneuil. The duke of Burgundy was much pleaſed with the landing of this army, being perſuaded that it was deſigned to aſſiſt in completing the conqueſt of France. But how great was his ſurpriſe and indignation, when he received intelligence that the duke of Glouceſter had marched into Hainault, to take poſſeſſeſſion of that country in virtue of his marriage? Being then engaged in celebrating his own nuptials with the ducheſs dowager of Nevers, he recalled his

his troops from the combined army in France, and ſent them, with his other forces, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brabant, which ſoon put a ſtop to the progreſs of the duke of Glouceſter. Arthur earl of Richmond, diſcontented becauſe he had been refuſed the command of the Engliſh army, made his peace with Charles, and accepted of the high office of conſtable of France, vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan. He alſo prevailed upon his brother the duke of Britanny to violate all his oaths, and enter into an alliance with the French monarch. Theſe untoward events prevented the duke of Bedford from purſuing his victory at Verneuil, and loſt him an opportunity of ſubduing France, which could never be recovered [14]. Let no nation exult in its ſucceſs until it is complete, or deſpair of its ſafety until it is ſubdued. A.D. 1420.

The Engliſh miniſtry were at variance amongſt themſelves, as well as with their allies. A quarrel very early commenced between the duke of Glouceſter, protector, and his uncle Henry Beaufort, the rich and haughty biſhop of Wincheſter, which was now on the point of producing a civil war. To prevent this, the duke of Bedford came over to England in the beginning of this year; and after many efforts, a kind of reconciliation was patched up between the protector and the prelate, by a parliament held at Leiceſter in March [15]. But this reconciliation was neither ſincere nor laſting. A.D. 1425. Diſcord among the Engliſh miniſters.

[14] Villar, tom. 14. p. 303—319. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 10, 11.
[15] Hall, Hen. VI. f. 12—18.

A. D. 1426. and A.D. 1427. Invaſion of Britanny.

The duke of Bedford, after ſpending about a year in England, returned to France; and being juſtly irritated at the duke of Britanny for his violation of his moſt ſolemn engagements at Amiens, invaded his country, and compelled him to relinquiſh his late alliance with France, to ſwear once more to the treaty of Troyes, and to do homage to the king of England, as king of France, for his dominions [16]. But as both that duke and his ſubjects hated the Engliſh, and favoured the French, this change was the mere effect of force, and continued no longer than that force continued.

Diſſenſions in the court of France.

King Charles did not make all the advantage he might have made of the diſcord which reigned among the Engliſh miniſters, and between them and their allies. His own little court was a ſcene of diſcord and intrigue. Fond of the pleaſures of love and friendſhip, he could not live without a miſtreſs and favourite. The martial nobles in general hated the favourites, by whom they were treated with very little ceremony; and the earl of Richmond, the conſtable, declared open war againſt them. He compelled Charles to baniſh Tannaguy du Chatel, and Louvel, his two great favourites; and he put their ſucceſſor Giac to death, and cauſed Beaulieu to be aſſaſſinated; which rendered him exceedingly odious to his new maſter, and prevented his doing ſo much ſervice as he could and would have done [17]. The military operations therefore, in France, during the abſence of the duke of Bedford, were of little conſe-

[16] Monſtrelet, vol. 2. p. 35, 36. [17] Villar, t. 14. p. 325—327.

quence;

quence; and the diſgraces, rather than advantages, on both ſides nearly equal. If the conſtable Richmond was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of St. James de Beuvron, the earl of Warwick, lieutenant for the duke of Bedford, was defeated before Montargis [18]. A. D. 1426, &c.

War in Brabant.

Ever ſince the invaſion of Hainault by the duke of Glouceſter and his duchefs Jaqueline, the duke of Burgundy had employed the greateſt part of his forces in ſupporting his couſin the duke of Brabant in his poſſeſſion of the dominions of his unfaithful conſort. When Glouceſter returned to England he left his ducheſs in Mons; and ſhe was ſoon after given up by the citizens of that place to the duke of Burgundy, who conducted her to Gant, June 13, A. D. 1426. In September ſhe made her eſcape from thence, and fled into Holland; which for two years became the ſeat of war between her and her ſubjects, ſupported by men and money from England on the one ſide, and the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant on the other. In the mean time a proceſs was carried on in the court of Rome concerning her two marriages; and at length the pope, Martin V. pronounced a decree annulling her marriage with the duke of Glouceſter, and confirming that with the duke of Brabant, and declaring that ſhe could not be united to the former even after the death of the latter. The duke of Glouceſter, now at laſt convinced of his folly, when it was too late to prevent the many miſchiefs it had produced, relinquiſhed his pretenſions to Jaqueline and her ter-

[18] P. Dancel, tom. 6. 35.

A.D. 1426, &c.

ritories, and married his former miſtreſs Eleanora Cobham [19].

Siege of Orleans form'd.

The war in France, which had languiſhed ever ſince the battle of Verneuil, was now revived and proſecuted with vigour; the parliament of England having granted a liberal ſupply for that purpoſe, and the fatal diſpute about the territories of the counteſs Jaqueline being ended. Thomas Montagu, earl of Saliſbury, the moſt renowned warrior of that age, was appointed, by the duke of Bedford, commander of the Engliſh army, to which he brought a reinforcement of ſix knight-bannerets, thirty-four knight bachelors, 600 men at arms, and 1700 archers [20]. The earl, determined to carry the war into the provinces beyond the Loire, reſolved (without conſulting the regent, who remained at Paris) to make himſelf maſter of the city of Orleans, which would open him a paſſage into thoſe provinces [21]. With this view he beſieged and took Meun, Jenville, and ſeveral other places in the neighbourhood, and ſat down before Orleans, October 12 [22]. His previous operations had given the French ſufficient intimation of his deſign; and they had deſtroyed the ſuburbs, repaired the fortifications, furniſhed the place with a numerous garriſon, and ample ſtores of ammunition and proviſion. The baſtards of Orleans, Xaintrayls, La Hire, Fayette, and many of the braveſt captains

19 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 374. Stow, p. 366, 367.

20 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 392.

21 Id. ibid. p. 408.

22 Monſtrelet, tom. 2. fol. 38.

in

in France, threw themſelves into it, determined to defend it to the laſt extremity[23]. Theſe circumſtances rendered the ſiege of Orleans an object of anxious attention to both parties; and it was generally believed that the fate of France would depend very much on the iſſue of that ſiege. A. D. 1428.

The earl of Saliſbury had not an army ſufficient to inveſt ſo great a city as Orleans on all ſides; he therefore made his approaches from the ſouth; and at the ſecond aſſault took the caſtle called *Tourelles*, which defended the bridge over the Loire, October 24. But this important acquiſition proved fatal to the Engliſh general, who was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, October 27, as he was taking a view of the city from the window of a high tower in the caſtle; and being carried to Meun, he died there November 3[24]. Death of the earl of Saliſbury.

By the death of the earl of Saliſbury, (ſaith an ancient hiſtorian), the duke of Bedford loſt his right hand, and the fortune of the war was changed[25]. He was ſucceeded in the command of the army, and conduct of the ſiege, by the earl of Suffolk, aſſiſted by lord Talbot, lord Scales, ſir John Faſtolf, and others. Theſe captains, being convinced that it would be impoſſible to take the city while the garriſon had a free communication with the country on one ſide, built a line of redoubts, then called baſtiles, at certain diſtances from each other, quite around it. In theſe baſtiles Siege of Orleans continued.

[23] Monſtrelet, t. 2. fol. 39.
[24] Id. ibid. Hall. Hen. VI. f. 23.
[25] Id. ibid. Monſtrelet, f. 39.

they

A. D. 1428. they lodged their troops; and on ſome of the largeſt of them they planted cannon [26].

A. D. 1429. Battle of Herrings. After theſe forts were built, the communication between the city and the country was ſo much interrupted, that the beſieged began to dread a ſcarcity of proviſions; and their attempts to introduce them occaſioned many ſkirmiſhes. Nor did the beſiegers enjoy much greater plenty in an exhauſted country. The regent collected a great convoy at Paris, conſiſting of between 400 and 500 carriages, loaded with arms, artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, for the army before Orleans, and committing the conducting of it to ſir John Faſtolf, with 1600 men. They proceeded without interruption till they arrived at the village of Roveroy, between Jenville and Orleans; where, on February 12, they were met by the earl of Clermont, the baſtard of Orleans, the conſtable of Scotland, and other great captains, at the head of near 4000 French and Scotch troops. As ſir John Faſtolf had timely notice of their approach, he ſurrounded his little army with his carriages, leaving only two paſſages, which he guarded by his beſt archers; and in that poſture calmly waited for the enemy. The Scotch and French commanders differed about the manner of the attack; the former inſiſting that it ſhould be made on foot, and the other that it ſhould be made on horſeback: and each nation followed its own opinion. The Scots, diſmounting, made a furious attack upon the two paſſages; but were repulſed with great

[26] Monſtrelet, f. 39.

ſlaughter

ſlaughter by the Engliſh archers. The conſtable and his ſon being both ſlain, their troops fell into diſorder; and the Engliſh, rūſhing out upon them, obtained a complete victory. The loſs fell chiefly upon the Scots, as the French, being generally mounted, made their eſcape. One hundred and twenty gentlemen, and about 600 common ſoldiers of the Scotch and French, fell in this action, which was called *the battle of herrings*, becauſe the convoy brought great quantities of that fiſh for the uſe of the army in Lent [27]. A. D. 1429.

The French were as much dejected as the Engliſh were elated by the event of this action. King Charles, now beginning to deſpair of being able to preſerve Orleans, ſent ambaſſadors to the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, at Paris, with a propoſal to ſurrender Orleans to the duke of Burgundy, to be kept by him to the end of the war. After ſeveral councils were held on this propoſal, it was rejected; which increaſed the ſecret diſguſt of the duke of Burgundy with his Engliſh allies [28]. Propoſal about Orleans rejected.

The exultation of the Engliſh, and dejection of the French, on this occaſion, were both of ſhort duration; and a moſt ſurpriſing change of fortune, brought about by the moſt improbable means, now took place between theſe two nations. This great change was not produced by the interpoſition of a mighty monarch, but of a poor, obſcure country girl. The real name of this extraordinary perſon (to whom the French monarchy owes its preſerva- Maid of Orleans.

[27] Monſtrelet, f. 42. [28] Ibid. f. 45.

A.D. 1429. tion) was Joan of Arc, better known in hiſtory by her acquired name of—*The Maid of Orleans.* She was born, A. D. 1407, in the pariſh of Greux, upon the Meuſe, in the village of Dompré. Her parents, being poor, could give her no fortune, and little education; and ſhe ſpent her youth in the ſervice of ſeveral families, particularly of a widow who kept an inn at Neufchatel in Lorrain. In this ſervice ſhe often acted as hoſtler, and rode the horſes to water; by which ſhe learnt to ride. She was robuſt, active, and intrepid; but nothing very uncommon appeared in her character while ſhe was a ſervant. The ſiege of Orleans, the diſtreſſes of the French, and the danger that king Charles was in of loſing his kingdom, were the ſubjects of every converſation. Theſe converſations made a deep impreſſion on the mind of this young woman; and her hatred of the Engliſh, and compaſſion for the French, were wrought up to the higheſt pitch. At length, her imagination was ſo heated, that ſhe fancied ſhe converſed with St. Margaret and St. Catharine, who commanded her, in the name of God, to go and raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct king Charles to be crowned at Rheims. Fully convinced that ſhe was called by Heaven to perform theſe exploits, ſhe applied to Baudrecourt, governor of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleur, earneſtly requeſting him to ſend her to the king at Chinon. Baudrecourt believed her to be frantic, and treated her with contempt; but her importunity, the ardour of her looks and language, at laſt prevailed upon him to put her into a man's dreſs,

dreſs, to give her arms, and ſend her with a letter to the king under the conduct of two gentlemen and their ſervants[29]. A. D. 1429.

When Joan arrived at court, in the end of February, ſhe excited much curioſity, but gained little credit to her wondrous tale. It was deliberated two days whether ſhe ſhould be admitted into the royal preſence. Curioſity prevailed: ſhe was admitted; and, with an air of reſpectful freedom, addreſſed the king in theſe words: "Gentle dauphin, my name is Joan the Maid; the King of "heaven hath ſent me to your aſſiſtance: if you "pleaſe to grant me troops, by the grace of God, "and the force of arms, I will raiſe the ſiege of "Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at "Rheims, in ſpite of all your enemies. This is "what the King of heaven hath commanded me "to tell you[30]." Enthuſiaſm, as well as terror, is infectious. Her meſſage was agreeable, her manner affecting; and ſhe made converts of all who heard her. The courtiers, the clergy, the parliament, declared they were convinced that Joan was commiſſioned by Heaven to deliver France, and to expel the Engliſh. This news, accompanied by many additional and marvellous circumſtances, flew like lightning over all France, and revived the ſinking ſpirit of the nation. This intelligence produced a very different effect in the Engliſh army before Orleans. The ſoldiers were ſtruck with diſmay and horror at the thoughts of At court.

[29] Monſtrelet, f. 42. Villar, tom. 14. p. 374—376.

[30] Id. ibid. p. 377.

A.D. 1429. fighting againſt Heaven; and it gave them but little comfort, when their leaders, aſſured them that Joan was only in compact with the devil.

Joan enters Orleans.

The ſiege of Orleans had continued about ſeven months; and the Engliſh had conſtructed no fewer than ſixty forts around that city, which could not poſſibly have held out much longer; when a great convoy of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, which had been collected at Blois, was diſpatched, April 25, to its relief, eſcorted by about 5000 men, commanded by La Hire, the marſhal Bouſſac, the admiral Culant, and other brave captains. The maid (as ſhe was called), at her own earneſt requeſt, accompanied this convoy, riding in the front of the army, nobly mounted, and completely armed, diſplaying her ſtandard; which inſpired the troops with an ardour for action, and a confidence of ſucceſs, to which they had long been ſtrangers. The convoy approached Orleans April 29; and after a very feeble and ſpiritleſs reſiſtance by the Engliſh, was conveyed into the city without any loſs. The baſtard of Orleans was ſent out, at the head of a powerful party, to introduce their heaven-delegated deliverer; and the maid entered in triumph, amidſt the loud acclamations of the garriſon and citizens [31].

The ſiege of Orleans raiſed.

The French remained no longer on the defenſive, but ſallied almoſt every day, and took ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt forts of the Engliſh, with great ſlaughter. Though theſe ſallies were conducted by the braveſt generals, they wiſely gave all the honour of their ſucceſs to the maid, who accom-

[31] Monſtrelet, f. 44. printed by miſtake, 46.

panied

panied them with her ſtandard, in order to increaſe the martial enthuſiaſm of their troops. The earl of Suffolk, after he had loſt 6000 of his men, called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege. This was accordingly done May 8; and the Engliſh army, greatly diſpirited, retired into ſuch ſtrong places in the neigbourhood as were in their poſſeſſion [32]. A.D. 1429.

By theſe events, the character claimed by the Maid of Orleans was eſtabliſhed, both among her friends and enemies. Even the duke of Bedford believed that ſhe poſſeſſed ſupernatural powers; though he inclined to think that theſe powers were derived from hell rather than from heaven. This appears from the following letter of his to the king and council of England: "Alle thing there "proſpered for you, til the time of the ſiege of "Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by what "advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure "fallen to the perſone of my couſin of Salyſbury, "whom God aſſoille, there felle, by the hand of "God, as it ſeemeth, a greet ſtrook upon your "peuple that was aſſembled, there in grete nombre, "cauſed in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of "ſadde belive, and of unlevefulle doubte that thei "hadde of a diſciple and lyme of the Fiende, "called the Pucelle (Maid), that uſed fals en-"chauntments and ſorcerie. The which ſtrooke "and diſcomfiture nought oonly leſſed in grete "partie the nombre of youre peuple there, but as "well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in History of the Maid continued.

[32] Monſtrelet, f. 46.

"merveil-

A.D. 1429. "merveilous wyſe, and couraiged youre adverſe "partie and enemys [33]."

Succeſſes of the Freuch.

The French generals, wiſely reſolving not to allow the ardour of their own troops to cool, nor to give the Engliſh time to recover from their conſternation, inveſted Gergeaux, June 12, into which the earl of Suffolk had retired with about 1200 men. The town was taken by ſcalade: one half of the garriſon was killed, the other half, with the earl of Suffolk, and one of his brothers, were made priſoners [34]. Meun and Beaugency ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate [35]. At all the ſieges the Maid of Orleans, aſſiſted, behaving with the greateſt intrepidity, and encouraging the troops by her words and her example. At the ſcalade of Gergeaux ſhe was wounded on the head, and thrown from the top of her ladder into the ditch; from whence ſhe cried with a loud and animating voice,—"Advance, advance, my brave "countrymen; the Lord hath doomed the Engliſh "to deſtruction [36]."

The conſtable joins the army.

When the French were engaged in the ſiege of Beaugency, they received a conſiderable reinforcement by the arrival of the conſtable Arthur earl of Richmond, at the head of 1200 men at arms, beſides other troops, which he had raiſed in Britanny. The conſtable had rendered himſelf ſo odious to the king, and his preſent favourite Trimoille, by his perſecution of the former favourites, that it was with difficulty Charles could be prevailed upon to

[33] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 408. [34] Monſtrelet f. 45. Hall, f. 26.
[35] Id. ibid. [36] Villar, t. 10. p. 397.

accept

accept his ſervices, or permit his troops to join the army, which was greatly ſtrengthened by that junction [37]. A. D. 1429.

Battle of Patay.

The duke of Bedford, recovered a little from the aſtoniſhment into which the late ſingular events had thrown him, collected about 4000 men, and ſent them to join the remains of the Engliſh army, now commanded by the brave lord Talbot. When this reinforcement, conducted by ſir John Faſtolf, joined lord Talbot, they formed an army, which the French a few months before would not have dared to approach. The French commanders held a council of war, in which they conſulted their oracle, the Maid of Orleans; who cried out,— "In the name of God, let us fight the Engliſh, "though they were ſuſpended in the clouds!— "But where (ſaid they) ſhall we find them?— "March! march! (cried ſhe,) and God will be "your guide."——When theſe ſayings were publiſhed in the army, every ſoldier became impatient for action and confident of victory. The two armies met, June 18, at the village of Patay near Anvile. In the Engliſh army all was diſcord and confuſion, ſome inſiſting that they ſhould fight on foot, and ſome that they ſhould fight on horſeback; and before any order could be reſtored, they were attacked with great fury. The brave lord Talbot fought with his uſual firmneſs; but a great part of the army fled without ſtriking a ſtroke, and amongſt others, the famous ſir John Faſtolf, who was therefore deprived of the garter, with which he had been

[37] Villar, tom. 10. p. 39°.

A. D. 1429. honoured. The French obtained a complete victory: 1800 of the Engliſh were killed; the lords Talbot, Scales, Hungerford, and about 100 gentlemen, were taken priſoners [38].

Charles crowned at Rheims.

Theſe rapid ſucceſſes of the French arms greatly increaſed the fame and influence of the Maid of Orleans, to whom they were imputed; and the greateſt generals thought it prudent to comply with her propoſals, even when they did not approve them. Having performed her firſt promiſe, by raiſing the ſiege of Orleans, ſhe now ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the immediate march of the army to Rheims, in order to the performance of the ſecond, by the coronation of the king in that city. It was evidently a dangerous operation, to march a ſmall army of 10,000 men through a country full of ſtrong places in poſſeſſion of the enemy. But every danger and difficulty vaniſhed before the Maid: Charles met with little or no oppoſition on his march, and entered Rheims in triumph, July 16, where, two days after, he was ſolemnly crowned and anointed, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of the people [39]. No object attracted ſo much notice on this occaſion as the Maid of Orleans; ſhe ſtood by the king's ſide, with her banner diſplayed, during the whole ceremony; and as ſoon as it was ended, ſhe fell proſtrate at his feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears entreated his permiſſion to return to her former ſtation. But Charles had reaped ſo many advantages from her preſence, and expected ſo many more, that he could not be

[38] Monſtrelet, f. 45. [39] Id. f. 48.

prevailed

prevailed upon to grant her that permiſſion; and ſhe was conſtrained to remain in the army [40]. A. D. 1429.

This coronation of king Charles was far from being a vain unprofitable ceremony. From that moment the French, even in thoſe parts of the kingdom that were under the dominion of the Engliſh, turned their eyes towards him as their lawful ſovereign and a prince favoured by heaven; and in a few days he had the ſatisfaction of receiving the ſubmiſſion of Laon, Soiſſons, Creſpy, La Ferté-Milon, Chateau-Thierry, Creil, Coulommiers, Provins, and many other ſtrong places, whoſe inhabitants had expelled their Engliſh and Burgundian garriſons [41]. Many places ſurrender to him.

The duke of Bedford, in the mean time, was far from being idle. Knowing that king Charles had made advances to the duke of Burgundy, he, by the moſt earneſt applications, prevailed upon that prince to come to Paris, in the beginning of July, and renew his alliance with England [42]. The duke of Burgundy left Paris, July 16, to collect his troops; and two days after the duke of Bedford ſet out for Normandy, to raiſe the forces of that province, and to meet his uncle, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, and cardinal of England, who had landed at Calais with 5000 men, originally intended for a croiſade againſt the Huſſites in Bohemia, but now to be employed in France [43]. Bedford, having raiſed about 5000 men in Normandy and Picardy, and being joined by the cardinal's army, marched in queſt of king Charles, in order Military operations.

[40] Villar, tom. 14. p. 423.
[41] Id. ibid. p. 435.
[42] Monſtrelet, f. 47.
[43] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 435.

A.D. 1429. to give him battle. From Montreau-ſur-Yonne, Auguſt 7, he ſent that prince a challenge to decide their important quarrel by a general action; to which it doth not appear that he received any anſwer [44]. A few days after, the two armies came in ſight, near Senlis; and when they had faced each other two days, they ſeparated without a battle [45].

Continued. The duke of Bedford, finding that he could not bring the French army to action, marched back to Paris, and from thence haſtened into Normandy, to oppoſe the earl of Richmond, conſtable of France, who had made an inroad into that province [46]. In his abſence, king Charles made an attempt on the capital; but, after an unſucceſsful aſſault, in which the Maid of Orleans was dangerouſly wounded, he was obliged to retire, and, marching ſouthward, received the voluntary ſubmiſſion of ſeveral towns. Thus ended the military operations of this memorable year, in which the fortunes of the two contending nations ſo entirely changed.

Maid of Orleans ennobled. The king of France was not ungrateful to the perſon who had been the viſible inſtrument of this happy change in his condition. He not only ennobled the Maid of Orleans, but alſo her parents, brothers, and ſiſters, extending that privilege to all their poſterity of both ſexes [47].

Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy at Paris. The brave and active duke of Bedford, having compelled the conſtable to evacuate Normandy, returned to Paris to receive the duke of Burgundy,

[44] Monſtrelet, f. 3.
[45] Id. f. 50.
[46] Villar, tom. 14. p. 447.
[47] Id. p. 470.

who entered that city, September 29, at the head of 4000 men. Knowing that king Charles had made that prince the moſt tempting offers to detach him from his alliance with England, the duke of Bedford granted all he deſired, to keep him ſteady in that alliance. With that view, he was conſtituted governor of Paris, and regent for the king of England of all the kingdom of France, except Normandy, till Eaſter [48]. After ſpending ſome weeks at Paris in ſettling the plan of the next campaign, the two dukes ſeparated, ſeemingly in the moſt perfect friendſhip. A.D. 1429.

The duke of Bedford, having obſerved the great effects produced by the coronation of king Charles at Rheims, had importuned the protector and council of England, to ſend over young king Henry to be crowned at Paris. The Engliſh council, thinking it decent that he ſhould firſt be crowned in England, that ceremony was performed, at Weſtminſter, November 6, A. D. 1429 [49]. The wealth of England was ſo much exhauſted by this long and expenſive war, that it required no leſs than ſix months to raiſe as much money as was neceſſary to defray the expences of the king's voyage to France; and this money was chiefly raiſed by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting loans, ſome of them ſo low as five marks [50]. At length the young king embarked at Dover, April 27, A. D. 1430, and landed at Calais the ſame day, attended by the chief nobility of England, and a A.D. 1430. Henry crowned at London and Paris.

[48] Monſtrelet, f. 53.
[49] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 436.
[50] Id. ibid. P. 455—467.

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A.D. 1430. conſiderable number of troops. But many of theſe troops were ſo terrified by the reports they heard of the Maid of Orleans, that they immediately deſerted, and returned to England; which obliged the duke of Glouceſter to iſſue a proclamation for apprehending them, wherever they could be found [51]. From Calais Henry was conducted to Rouen, where he reſided about eighteen months; as it appears, from the beſt authority, that he was not crowned at Paris till December 17, A. D. 1431 [52]. The delay of his coronation proceeded from the ſame cauſe with the delay of his voyage, viz. the want of money; and yet all the money beſtowed upon both was thrown away, as they produced no good effect.

Maid of Orleans taken priſoner.

Soon after the arrival of king Henry in France, an event happened which filled the Engliſh with the moſt lively tranſports of joy. This was the capture of the Maid of Orleans, who for ſome time paſt had been the great object of their dread and hatred. That intrepid heroine had fought her way into the town of Compeigne, which was beſieged by the Engliſh and Burgundians; and on the very next day, May 25, ſhe headed a ſally, which at firſt was ſucceſsful, but at laſt repulſed. The Maid, as uſual, placed herſelf in the rear of her troops, and frequently faced about on the purſuers, and put them to a ſtand. At length, being ſurrounded, and pulled from her horſe, finding it

51 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 472.

52 Villar, tom. 15. p. 96. From the regiſter of the parliament of Paris.

impoſ-

impoſſible to eſcape, ſhe ſurrendered herſelf a priſoner to the baſtard of Vendome, who delivered her to John de Luxembourg, earl of Ligny, commander of the Burgundian army. The joy of the Engliſh and Burgundians on this occaſion was exceſſive; and the whole camp reſounded with loud reiterated acclamations[53]. There were as great rejoicings at Paris, and other places in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, as if they had obtained the moſt deciſive victory. A.D. 1430.

The unhappy Maid, from the firſt moment of her captivity, was ungratefully neglected by her friends, and cruelly treated by her enemies. The duke of Bedford, having bought her from the earl of Ligny for the enormous ſum of £ 10,000, and an annuity of £ 300 to the baſtard of Vendome, ſhe was conducted to Rouen, thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. In this deplorable ſtate ſhe languiſhed many months, while her enemies were contriving the mode of proceeding againſt her, in order to ſecure her condemnation. Meſſengers were ſent to the place of her nativity, to inveſtigate the actions of her youth; but the reports they brought back were not unfavourable. As a priſoner of war ſhe was intitled to be treated with civility, and either to be exchanged or ranſomed. At length a commiſſion was granted to the biſhop of Beauvais, brother Martin, vicar-general of the inquiſition, and certain doctors of the canon law, to try her for hereſy, ſorcery, and witchcraft. All her judges were zealous in the Engliſh intereſt, and determined, if poſſible, to find her guilty. Theſe judges held A.D. 1431, Her trial.

[53] Villar, tom. 15. p. 19.

A. D. 1431. their firſt ſeſſion, February 13, A. D. 1431; when their forlorn priſoner was brought before them, loaded with irons, from which ſhe earneſtly intreated them to relieve her, but in vain. In that, and fifteen ſucceeding ſeſſions, they aſked her a prodigious number of queſtions, many of them very artful and enſnaring; but though ſhe was quite illiterate, and was not allowed the aſſiſtance of any counſel, ſhe anſwered all their queſtions in a manner ſo acute and guarded, that they gained no advantage. In a word, they could diſcover nothing on which to found a ſentence of condemnation, except—that ſhe had worn man's clothes and arms, and engaged in war—and that ſhe perſiſted in declaring, that ſhe believed the viſions ſhe had ſeen were real viſions. Her proſecutors then laboured to work upon the two powerful paſſions of the love of life, and fear of death—by painting, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the horrors of that ſentence which was to be pronounced upon her—and by perſuading her to make a recantation, in order to ſave both her body and her ſoul from torment. At length, ſhe conſented to ſubſcribe, with the ſign of the croſs, a ſolemn promiſe, never more to bear arms, or wear man's apparel; to which, it is ſaid, ſeveral other articles unknown to her were added. She was then furniſhed with the dreſs of her own ſex; but it was taken away in the night by her guards, and a man's dreſs put in its place; of which ſhe complained bitterly in the morning, and continued in bed as long as nature would permit. When conſtrained to riſe, ſhe covered herſelf with

ſome

ſome part of the man's apparel; on which her keepers, who had an opportunity of obſerving all her actions, ruſhed into the room. Her judges were aſſembled; the keepers ſwore they had ſeen her in man's clothes; a ſentence of death was pronounced upon her, as a relapſed heretic; and ſhe was delivered to the ſecular arm, to put that ſentence in execution. A.D. 1431.

This was accordingly done, in the market-place of Rouen, May 30, in the preſence of the cardinal of Wincheſter, ſeveral other biſhops, all her judges, and an amazing multitude of ſpectators. On the front of the pile of wood in which ſhe was to be burnt, a tablet was ſuſpended, with this inſcription: "Joan, who made herſelf be called the "Maid, a pernicious liar, a deceiver of the people, "a ſorcereſs, ſuperſtitious, preſumptuous, cruel, a "blaſphemer, an infidel, a murderer, an idolater, a "worſhipper of the devil, an apoſtate, ſchiſmatic, "and heretic." When the Maid appeared, ſtill loaded with chains, emaciated, dejected, and bathed in teârs, a prieſt mounted a pulpit, and pronounced a moſt virulent invective againſt the unhappy victim about to be ſacrificed; concluding with this hypocritical declaration:—"Joan, the church can "protect you no longer, and now gives you up to "ſecular juſtice." The ſecular magiſtrates were ſo much affected, that they could pronounce only the ſingle word, Proceed. She was then placed on the pile, and reduced to aſhes, embracing a croſs, and calling on the name of Jeſus to her laſt moment. Thus periſhed, in the midſt of flames, and Her execution.

A.D. 1431. and under a load of calumny, the virtuous, heroic Maid of Orleans, whoſe only crime ſeems to have been an ardent, enthuſiaſtic love of her country, which ſhe preſerved from a foreign yoke. The beſt apology that can be made for her proſecutors is—that their reſentment was inflamed beyond meaſure by the loſſes they had ſuſtained—that they really believed her to be an agent of the devil—and that they hoped, by her diſgrace and death, to recover their former aſcendant over their enemies; in which they were diſappointed [54].

Military operations. The Engliſh and Burgundians were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Compeigne, after it had continued ſix months. Lagny was beſieged three times by the Engliſh in vain. The other military operations of this year were ſo trifling, that they merit no attention.

A.D. 1432. Continued. Both the contending nations were now ſo much exhauſted by this long, bloody, and expenſive war, that they could not bring any conſiderable armies into the field. They were therefore chiefly employed in taking towns and caſtles from each other by ſurpriſe, and in predatory excurſions from their ſeveral garriſons. Thus Chartres was ſurpriſed by the French, and Montargis by the Engliſh, in the ſpring of this year; and the open country in the ſeveral provinces was plundered by both parties, and the people reduced to great diſtreſs [55]. The Engliſh again beſieged Lagny twice in the courſe of this campaign, but without ſucceſs [56].

54 Villar, tom. 15. p. 38—76. From the regiſter of the proceſs.
55 Monſtrelet, f. 84—87. 56 Hall, f. 40.

Ann

Ann of Burgundy, ducheſs of Bedford, died at Paris, November 14, A. D. 1432; and her death diſſolved the chief tie which united the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The coolneſs between theſe two princes was much increaſed by the ſudden marriage of the latter, in January A. D. 1433, to Jaqueline, daughter of the earl of St. Pol, without conſulting the former. To prevent an open rupture, the cardinal, biſhop of Wincheſter, prevailed upon them to appoint a meeting at St. Omer's, to ſettle all their diſputes. But when the two dukes came to that place, in May this year, neither of them could be prevailed upon to make the other the firſt viſit. The cardinal laboured earneſtly to overcome this difficulty, but to no purpoſe; and they departed without meeting, in mutual diſcontent. The duke of Bedford, on this occaſion, allowed his pride to overcome his prudence; of which he heartily repented, when it was too late [57].

A. D. 1432.

Miſunderſtanding between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy.

A. D. 1433.

While the people of England were regaled with the news of frequent victories, and encouraged by the proſpect of ſubduing France, they bore the expences of the war without much repining; but when the tide of ſucceſs turned, and the proſpect of conqueſt vaniſhed, they became peeviſh and diſcontented. The ſupplies, obtained from parliament with great difficulty, were quite inadequate to the exigencies of the war. This inclined the majority of the Engliſh council to wiſh for peace; and conferences were held for that purpoſe laſt year, under

The Engliſh diſcontented.

[57] Monſtrelet, f. 89, 90.

the

A.D.1433. the mediation of the pope, and this year under the mediation of the duke of Orleans, who hoped to obtain deliverance from his long captivity in England, by being the inſtrument of procuring peace. But the pretenſions of the Engliſh were too high, and the conceſſions of the French too low, to admit of an accommodation [58].

A. D. 1434. Duke of Burgundy inclined to peace with France.

The alliance of the duke of Burgundy with the Engliſh againſt his own family and his native country, into which he had been brought by the violence of his reſentment for the murder of his father, was neither very natural nor very prudent. His reſentment was now much abated; and he plainly perceived that it was not his intereſt to ſee a king of England peaceably ſeated on the throne of France. He had been often diſguſted by his Engliſh allies, and was continually ſolicited by his neareſt relations to liſten to the plauſible excuſes and tempting offers made by king Charles. Theſe conſiderations gradually abated his averſion to Charles and his attachment to the Engliſh. At an interview which he had with his two brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon and the conſtable Richmond, at Nevers, to ſettle ſome family-diſputes, towards the end of this year, he was brought to a final reſolution to be reconciled to Charles. A congreſs was appointed to be aſſembled next year, in the city of Arras; to which the duke of Burgundy inſiſted the Engliſh ſhould be invited, as he had ſolemnly engaged not to make peace without

[58] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 514. 530. 556, &c.

their

their participation. They were accordingly invited, and accepted of the invitation [59]. A.D 1434.

King Charles appointed no fewer than twenty-nine commiſſioners to this congreſs, conſiſting of the greateſt lords and prelates, and moſt learned men of his kingdom [60]. The king of England named twenty-ſeven commiſſioners, of the higheſt rank and greateſt eminence in church and ſtate [61]. The duke of Burgundy, the moſt magnificent prince of thoſe times, appeared in perſon, attended by his whole court, and the chief nobility of his dominions. The pope ſent the cardinal of the holy croſs; and the council of Baſil, then ſitting, deputed the cardinal of Cyprus to repreſent them. In a word, there was hardly a prince or ſtate in Europe which did not ſend ambaſſadors to this congreſs, which was the moſt numerous and ſplendid aſſembly that had been ſeen for ſeveral ages [62]. A.D. 1435. Congreſs of Arras.

In the firſt ſeſſion of this famous congreſs, Auguſt 20, each of the two cardinals, who acted as mediators, made a ſpeech, deſcribing the calamities of war and the bleſſings of peace, and earneſtly recommending moderation in their demands to the plenipotentiaries of the powers at war, that a peace might be concluded. But after they entered upon buſineſs, it ſoon appeared, that there was no probability that a peace would be made at this time between the kings of England and France. The French plenipotentiaries propoſed—to cede to the king of England the provinces of The Engliſh plenipotentiaries leave the congreſs.

[59] Monſtrelet, f. 102. [60] Id. f. 108. [61] Id. f. 107.
[62] Id. ibid.

Normandy

A. D. 1435. Normandy and Guienne, to be held by homage of the crown of France, on condition that Henry relinquiſhed all his pretenſions to that crown, and gave up all the other places he held in France. The Engliſh commiſſioners were ſo much offended at this propoſal, which they conſidered as an inſult, that they did not deign to return any anſwer to it, or make any propoſals of their own, but broke off the conferences, and left Arras abruptly, September 6 [63]. This was certainly a very imprudent ſtep, as it made them appear in an unfavourable light to the other powers of Europe, and furniſhed the duke of Burgundy with a plauſible pretence for making a ſeparate peace with France.

Peace between France and Burgundy.

As ſoon as the Engliſh plenipotentiaries were gone, thoſe of France and Burgundy laboured to adjuſt the terms of reconciliation between theſe two powers. This was not a difficult taſk, as the duke of Burgundy obtained every thing he could deſire; and the peace was ſealed and ſworn with great ſolemnity, at Arras, September 21 [64].

Conſequences of that peace.

When this peace was proclaimed in the cities of France and of the territories of the duke of Burgundy, the rejoicings were exceſſive, and continued ſeveral days. But when the report of it reached England, it excited the moſt violent indignation againſt the duke of Burgundy, who was loaded with the bittereſt reproaches for the breach of his alliance. The Londoners in particular were ſo much enraged, that they plundered, and even murdered, ſeveral of his ſubjects who reſided in that

[63] Monſtrelet, f. 111—113. [64] Id. f. 112—119.

city.

city. The heralds he ſent to notify the peace in form, and make an apology for his conduct, were treated with great contempt, and ſent back without an anſwer, which greatly irritated that powerful prince, and converted an unſteady friend into a determined enemy [65]. A. D. 1435.

During the congreſs at Arras, England ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of the duke of Bedford, who expired at Rouen, September 14, deeply affected by the untoward events which had lately happened, and the dread of ſtill greater diſaſters [66]. Death of the duke of Bedford. A. D. 1436.

The council of England, from the beginning of this unhappy reign, was divided into two parties; the one headed by the duke of Glouceſter, and the other by the cardinal of Wincheſter. The animoſity of theſe parties, which was very violent, diſturbed the peace of the country, and obſtructed the vigorous proſecution of the war. Richard duke of York was appointed regent of France, by the influence of the duke of Glouceſter and his party; but the other party, who favoured Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerſet, the cardinal's nephew, threw ſo many impediments in the way, that ſix months elapſed before the duke of York obtained his commiſſion. In this interval, the city of Paris, and almoſt all the other places of ſtrength in the iſle of France, were loſt, being either purchaſed, ſurpriſed, or forcibly taken, by the enemy [67]. Diviſions in the council of England, and the conſequences.

[65] Monſtrelet, f. 120, 121. [66] Hall, f. 47.
[67] Id. f. 46, 47, 48. Monſtrelet, f. 127.

The

A.D. 1436.

Commiſſions to the dukes of Burgundy and York.

The council of England, eſpecially that part of it under the influence of the cardinal, diſcouraged by ſo many loſſes, and dreading ſtill more, became ſincerely deſirous of peace, and gave a commiſſion to the duke of York, May 20, to treat of a truce or peace; and at the ſame time gave a commiſſion to the cardinal of Wincheſter, and the duke of Burgundy, whoſe enmity they had drawn upon themſelves by ſo many inſults, to treat of a marriage between king Henry and a daughter of king Charles, to whom they gave only the name of Charles de Valois[68]. Theſe abſurd and ſneaking commiſſions, ſo inconſiſtent with their haughty behaviour at the congreſs of Arras, and their contemptuous treatment of the duke of Burgundy, are a ſufficient indication of the weakneſs and inſtability of the councils of England at this period, and muſt diminiſh our ſurpriſe at the loſſes and diſgraces which enſued.

Calais beſieged; the ſiege raiſed.

The duke of Burgundy was ſo far from acting as a commiſſioner of the king of England, that he was at this very time raiſing a great army, with which he inveſted Calais, July 19. The duke of Glouceſter, and his party in the council, who were always for a vigorous proſecution of the war, hearing of theſe great preparations, and alarmed at the danger of this important place, in a few weeks collected a fleet of 500 ſail, and raiſed an army of 15,000 men, with which he landed at Calais, Auguſt 2. The duke of Burgundy, now deſpairing

[68] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 642—644.

of

of taking the town, and afraid to venture a battle, raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, leaving his heavy cannon and the greateſt part of his baggage behind him. The duke of Glouceſter purſued him, burning and deſtroying the country, and collecting a great deal of booty, with which he returned to Calais, and from thence to England [69]. A.D. 1436.

The duke of York having landed in Normandy in June with a reinforcement of 8000 men, the war was puſhed with ſome degree of vigour, and ſeveral places recovered, which had been taken by the enemy. The brave lord Talbot defeated a conſiderable body of French troops, commanded by Xantrails and La Hire, who had approached Rouen, in hopes of being admitted into it, by certain citizens, with whom they held a correſpondence. Towards the end of the year, he took the ſtrong town of Pontoiſe by a ſtratagem; which enabled the Engliſh to puſh their predatory incurſions to the very gates of Paris [70]. Military operations.

Queen Katharine, widow of Henry V. died January 7, this year. Soon after the death of her renowned huſband, ſhe married Owen Tudor, a Welſh gentleman, by whom ſhe had three ſons, Edmund, Jaſper, and Owen. Edmund, the eldeſt, was created earl of Richmond, by Henry VI. A. D. 1452, and married the lady Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort duke of Somerſet; by whom he had one ſon, Henry earl of Richmond, after- A.D. 1437. Death of queen Katharine, &c.

[69] Stow, p. 376. Fabian, v. 1. p. 139. Monſtrelet, f. 132—139.
[70] Monſtrelet, f. 140. 142.

A. D. 1432. wards king of England [71]. The ſuddenneſs of queen Katharine's ſecond marriage, and the very inferior rank of her huſband, gave great offence to her royal relations, and brought her into general contempt; but the reſpect which the Engliſh miniſters bore to the memory of their late king, prevented them from giving Mr. Tudor any trouble during the queen's life. Immediately after her death he was committed to Newgate; from which he made his eſcape; but being retaken about a year after, he was committed to the tower [72].

Military operations. The duke of Burgundy was ſo much haraſſed by the frequent inſurrections of his Flemiſh ſubjects, that he could give but little aid to his new allies. Dreading the reſentment of the Engliſh, which was much inflamed by his late attempt upon Calais, he earneſtly intreated the king of France to collect his forces, and make the moſt vigorous efforts againſt their common enemies, promiſing to favour his operations by a diverſion on the ſide of Normandy. Rouſed from his habitual indolence by theſe intreaties, Charles appointed a rendezvous of his troops at Gien, in the ſpring of this year; and, putting himſelf at their head, beſieged and took Landen, Nemours, and Monſtreaw-Faute-Yone. At the ſiege of this laſt place, he gained great honour by his activity and perſonal courage [73].

Continued. The duke of Burgundy was not ſo ſucceſsful in this campaign. About the beginning of October,

[71] Dugdale's Baron. vol. 2. p. 237, &c. Sandford's Geneal. p. 285.
[72] Stow, p. 376. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 685, 686.
[73] Monſtrelet, f. 145.

his generals inveſted Crotoy, near Abbevile, a place of great importance on account of its ſtrength and ſituation; while the duke, at the head of an army, lay near, to prevent his being relieved. The brave lord Talbot, having collected a ſmall army of about 5000 men, marched towards Crotoy. When he reached the Somme, he found the duke of Burgundy, with his army, on the oppoſite bank, ready to diſpute his paſſage. Fired with indignation againſt that prince, Talbot and his troops plunged into the river without heſitation; which ſo intimidated the Burgundians, that they retired without ſtriking a ſtroke, and immediately after raiſed the ſiege. Having victualled and repaired the place, Talbot made an incurſion into Picardy and Artois, burning and plundering the country; and then returned into Normandy, loaded with the ſpoils and glory [74]. A. D. 1437.

By the factious intrigues which ſtill prevailed in the council of England, the duke of York was deprived of the regency of France, and Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick appointed regent in his place, July 16 [75]. That nobleman having been put back ſeveral times by contrary winds, landed in Normandy in November, with a reinforcement of 1000 men; and the duke returned to England, much diſcontented [76]. Earl of Warwick regent of France.

France was at this time a ſcene of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs and miſery. A deſtructive peſtilence and cruel famine ſwept away a great propor- A.D.1438. Plague and famine.

74 Monſtrelet, f. 149, 150. Hall, f. 54.
75 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p 674.
76 Hall, f. 54. Stow, p. 377.

A.D. 1438. tion of its inhabitants; while ſeveral of his provinces were infeſted by great bands, or rather armies of robbers, conſiſting of ſoldiers of fortune, who, having no pay, committed the moſt horrible ravages. England was not without its ſhare of miſery, being afflicted, at leaſt in an equal degree, with the plague and famine[77]. Theſe calamities produced an almoſt total ceſſation of hoſtilities. Richard the good earl of Warwick, regent of France, died at Rouen, April 30[78].

A.D. 1439. Negotiations. The pope ſtill continued his exhortations to peace; which were ſeconded by thoſe of the duke of Britanny,—of the ducheſs of Burgundy,—and of the duke of Orleans, who again offered his mediation, in hopes of obtaining deliverance from his long captivity. In conſequence of theſe ſolicitations, conferences were held this ſummer, at a place equally diſtant from Calais and Gravelines, between the plenipotentiaries of England and France. The ambaſſadors of the pope and the duke of Britanny aſſiſted at theſe conferences; the ducheſs of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans were perſonally preſent, and laboured with great earneſtneſs to bring about an accommodation, which was to have been cemented by the marriage of the king of England with a daughter of the king of France. But all in vain: the Engliſh inſiſting on the poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne without homage, and the French inſiſting on their holding them by homage, the conferences broke up without effect[79]. The

77 Monſtrelet, f. 154. Fabian, an. 1438. Stow, p. 377.
78 Id. ibid. 79 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 720—733.

ducheſs of Burgundy, at this congreſs, negotiated a truce for three years, and a treaty of commerce, between the Engliſh and the ſubjects and dominions of her huſband [80]. This excellent princeſs, who was ſo active in promoting peace, was daughter of John king of Portugal, and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and conſequently a near relation of the king of England. A.D 1439.

Military operations.

The conferences for peace did not interrupt the operations of war. The earl of Richmond, conſtable of France, inveſted Meaux in the beginning of July, and obliged the town to ſurrender, after a ſiege of three weeks. But the garriſon retired into the market place, which was much ſtronger than the town, and ſtood another ſiege. Lord Talbot marched to the relief of Meaux, and found means to throw ſome troops and proviſions into it; but the French camp was ſo ſtrong, that he could neither force it, nor provoke the conſtable to battle. The garriſon deſpairing of relief, capitulated about three weeks after the retreat of lord Talbot. The conſtable was not ſo ſucceſsful in his next enterpriſe, the ſiege of Avranches, which he was compelled to raiſe, with the loſs of his cannon and baggage [81].

A. D. 1440. Conſpiracy in France.

In the beginning of this year, a new ſtorm aroſe in France, which threatened that unhappy kingdom with greater calamities than it had yet indured. Lewis the dauphin, ſeduced by his own ambitious ſpirit, and the perſuaſions of certain

[80] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 736. Monſtrelet, f. 169.
[81] Monſtrelet, f. 166.

A.D. 1440. emiſſaries, made his eſcape from the caſtle of Loches, where he reſided with his governor the earl of March, and was conducted to Moulins, where he found the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Alençon, the earl of Vendome, the lords Trimoille, Chaumont, and ſeveral other diſcontented noblemen, with whom he formed a plot for dethroning his father. The conſpirators ſent gentlemen of their party into the ſeveral provinces, to communicate their ſcheme to ſuch as they hoped would join them; but received very unfavourable anſwers. They imparted their plot alſo to the duke of Burgundy, imagining that he ſtill retained ſome reſentment againſt Charles for the aſſaſſination of his father. But that prince adviſed them to deſiſt from their deſign, and make their ſubmiſſion to the king, promiſing to uſe all his influence to procure their pardon. Hearing that their juſtly offended ſovereign was advancing towards them, at the head of a powerful army, they took this advice. The king refuſed to admit any of the conſpirators into his preſence, except the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon, who being introduced July 19, made the moſt humble ſubmiſſions, and obtained a pardon [82].

Military operations.

The Engliſh, taking advantage of this commotion, which was much ſooner compoſed than they expected, plundered Picardy with one army, and with another, commanded by the earl of Somerſet and lord Talbot, inveſted Harfleur, which had

[82] Monſtrelet, f. 171, 172.

been

been taken by the French, A. D. 1432. The English generals, to prevent their being disturbed, or any relief thrown into the place, fortified their camp with a ditch and rampart, and guarded the harbour with a fleet. The garrison and inhabitants made a brave and long defence in hopes of being relieved; and as soon as the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon made their submissions, Charles sent an army to their relief; which assaulted the English camp in three places at once; but were repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to abandon their enterprise. The garrison soon after capitulated; and Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V. fell once more into the hands of the English [83]. The duke of York was again appointed regent of France July 2 [84]. A. D. 1440

Conferences for peace.

Two attempts were made this year to put an end to this long and destructive war, which had continued twenty-five years, and (if we may believe the cardinal of Winchester) had carried off more men than were at this time both in France and England. But in vain; the article of homage proving an obstacle which neither of the two nations had the magnanimity to surmount, for the sake of a peace of which they stood so much in need [85].

Duke of Orleans set at liberty.

The negotiations for the deliverance of the duke of Orleans from his tedious captivity were more successful. Negotiations for that purpose had been carried on several years favoured by the cardinal of Winchester and his party, and keenly opposed

[83] Monstrelet, f. 173. 188. [84] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 786.
[85] Id. ibid. p. 724. 756 767. 800. 810.

A.D. 1440. by the duke of Glouceſter and his adherents. The cardinal having now gained the aſcendant in the Engliſh council, the terms of a treaty for the duke's deliverance were ſettled, and prepared for ratification. When the duke of Glouceſter perceived that he could not prevent the execution of this treaty, he gave in a proteſtation againſt it, June 2, containing ſeveral reaſons of his diſſent; which were diſregarded [86]. By this treaty, which was ſigned July 2, the duke was to pay a ranſom of 100,000 nobles, equal in value to 200,000 crowns, at diſferent terms. He engaged alſo to uſe his moſt earneſt endeavours to bring about a general peace; in which, if he ſucceeded within twelve months, all the money he had paid for his ranſom was to be returned, and the reſt remitted [87]. Several months elapſed before all the ſecurities for the ranſom, and ſome other matters, were finally ſettled. At length the duke was conducted to Calais, and from thence to Gravelins, where he was ſet at liberty, November 12, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years, in an enemy's country, at a great diſtance from his family, his friends, and his princely fortune, which was almoſt ruined by the war [88].

A D.1441. Military operations.

The great popularity of the duke of Orleans, on his arrival in his native country, after ſo long an abſence, gave umbrage to the court of France, and put it out of his power to bring about a peace. The war continued, and was even carried on with more vigour than in ſome preceding years. King

[86] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 765. [87] Id. ibid. p. 776—786.
[88] Id. ibid. p. 819.

Charles,

Charles, rouſed from his habitual indolence, put himſelf, with his ſon the dauphin, at the head of his troops, and having taken Creil in the month of April, about the middle of May he inveſted Pontoiſe with an army of 12,000 men. This was a place of great importance, on account of its ſtrength and ſituation, which made him puſh the ſiege with the greateſt ardour. But he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance; and the renowned lord Talbot found means to throw ſuccours into the place three different times; which enabled the garriſon to hold out ſeveral months. The duke of York, regent of France, having collected an army of about 8000 men, marched, Auguſt 15, from Rouen towards Pontoiſe. When he approached that place, he challenged the king of France to a pitched battle; which that prince declined; and believing it impoſſible for the Engliſh army to paſs the river Oyſe without boats, he continued the ſiege. But the duke of York paſſed the river by a ſtratagem, and marched towards the French camp; which ſo much aſtoniſhed Charles, that he retired with great precipitation. The duke, finding it impoſſible to bring the French to a general action, victualled and recruited the garriſon of Pontoiſe, and then returned with his army into Normandy. When Charles entered Paris he met with a very cold reception, and plainly perceived, that his late retreat had greatly diminiſhed both the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects; which determined him immediately to return to Pontoiſe, and renew the ſiege. The king appearing foremoſt in every danger, A. D. 1441.

A. D. 1441. danger, ſo animated his troops, that the town was taken by ſtorm, 500 of the garriſon put to the ſword, and about the ſame number taken priſoners. By this conqueſt Charles recovered his reputation; the French were greatly elated, and the Engliſh no leſs diſcouraged [89].

Trial of the ducheſs of Glouceſter.

The court of England was at this time a ſcene of the moſt violent faction. The cardinal of Wincheſter, who had ſpies in the family of his rival the duke of Glouceſter, being informed by one of them, that the ducheſs had private meetings with one ſir Robert Bolingbroke, a prieſt, who was reputed a necromancer, and Marjory Gourdimain, commonly called the *Witch of Eye*, commanded them all to be apprehended, and accuſed of treaſon; pretending that they had made an image of the king in wax, and placed it before a fire, that as the image melted, the king's ſtrength and fleſh might decay, till it was quite deſtroyed. Such an accuſation would only have excited laughter in a more enlightened age, but was then treated as a moſt ſerious affair. The ducheſs was examined by the two archbiſhops, and ſeveral other prelates; and ſolemnly tried by the earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, Northumberland, &c.; and though no evidence was produced at her trial, of the image of wax, or of any thing that had the leaſt relation to treaſon, ſhe was ſentenced to do public penance in St. Paul's, and two other churches, on three ſeveral days, and to be impriſoned for life. A cruel and unjuſt ſentence, which was dictated by

[89] Monſtrelet, f. 183—185.

party-

party-rage, and executed with the greateſt rigour[90]. A. D. 1441. Bolingbroke, who was a mathematician, and on that account reputed a magician, was condemned to death, and executed at Tyburn. Marjory Gourdimain was burnt in Smithfield[91].

The Engliſh army in Guienne had beſieged Tartas (a ſtrong town belonging to count d'Albert) ſeveral months; and the garriſon capitulated in January this year, agreeing to ſurrender the town, if it was not relieved on or before June 24. Charles, determined to preſerve a place of ſo great importance, the neglect of which would have diſguſted count d'Albert, and the nobles of thoſe parts, appointed his troops to aſſemble at Thouloufe in May; and marching from thence at the head of a gallant army, compoſed of the nobility of the ſouthern provinces, and their followers, arrived before Tartas at the time appointed; and no Engliſh army appearing, the hoſtages which had been given for the ſurrender of that place were reſtored[92]. Charles having ſo fine an army, beſieged and took ſeveral towns, as St. Severe, Acques, Mermande, and Reole[93]. A. D. 1442. Tartas relieved.

While king Charles remained in thoſe parts, he obtained another great advantage. Margaret counteſs of Cominges had been confined in priſon twenty-two years, by the earl of Armagnac and her own huſband, Matthew earl of Fezenſaquet, who divided the county between them. The counteſs, in her confinement, made a will in favour of Charles obtains the county of Cominges.

[90] Stow, Annal. p. 382.
[91] Id. ibid.
[92] Monſtrelet, f. 196.
[93] Id. f. 197.

the

A. D. 1442. the king of France, of which that prince having received intelligence, he delivered Margaret from priſon, and took poſſeſſion of that part of the county which was held by the earl of Armagnac. That haughty and potent earl was ſo much enraged at this, and ſome other affronts he had received from Charles, that he determined to revolt; and ſent meſſengers to the court of England, to propoſe an alliance, and to offer one of his daughters to the young king in marriage. This propoſal was eagerly embraced by the duke of Glouceſter; and ſir Robert Roos, ſecretary Bickington, and Edward Hull, were ſent to conclude the alliance and marriage [94]. But all the counſels of the court of England at this time were betrayed by faction. The cardinal of Wincheſter and his party dreaded nothing ſo much as a queen in the intereſt of the duke of Glouceſter, and to prevent it, probably conveyed ſome hints of this intrigue to Charles, who fell upon the earl, reduced his whole country, and took him and all his family, except his eldeſt ſon, priſoners [95].

Military operations.

The Engliſh, unable to make head againſt king Charles in the ſouth, endeavoured to create a diverſion in the north of France. The duke of York ſent lord Willobey, with a body of troops, to plunder the country about Amiens; while he, at the head of an army, made an incurſion into Anjou and Main, burning and deſtroying the ſmall towns and villages. Towards the end of the year both theſe armies returned to Rouen, loaded with

94 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 6—8.

95 Hall, f. 64.

booty,

booty, but without having made any important conqueſt. The lord Talbot, who had been created earl of Shrewſbury, March 20, this year, landed in Normandy, with a reinforcement of 3000 men; with which, and ſome other troops, he beſieged Dieppe, in November. But he ſoon found that his army was too ſmall to take the place by force: he therefore converted the ſiege into a blockade; the care of which he left to his natural ſon, a young man of great hopes, and went to Rouen. Soon after his departure, the dauphin, at the head of a conſiderable army, attacked the Engliſh troops before Dieppe, and obliged them to retire [96]. A.D. 1442.

Diſputes in the council of England.

The political campaign between the two parties in the Engliſh council was as warm this year, as the military one between the two nations in the field.

A.D. 1443.

The duke of Glouceſter gave in to the king and council an accuſation of high treaſon againſt his great adverſary, the cardinal of Wincheſter, conſiſting of fourteen articles. The moſt capital of theſe articles were, that the cardinal, in conjunction with his great confident John Kemp, archbiſhop of York, had taken poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and of all his power; and that he had cheated the king and nation of immenſe ſums of money. Both theſe articles, as well as ſeveral others, were unqueſtionably true, and could eaſily have been proven. The council, which conſiſted chiefly of the cardinal's creatures, declined giving any advice or opinion; and the cardinal extricated himſelf in his uſual way, by procuring a full pardon,

[96] Stow, p. 382. Hall, f. 59.

from

A.D. 1443. from the king, of all the treaſons and crimes he had ever committed [97].

A.D. 1444. Truce between England and France.

The two powerful and flouriſhing kingdoms of France and England had ſuffered ſo much from this long and moſt deſtructive war, that they became the objects of univerſal pity; and almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe laboured to procure a peace between them. The duke of Orleans, who now poſſeſſed that place in the confidence of his ſovereign to which he was intitled, promoted the ſame end with the greateſt zeal. Iſabel ducheſs of Burgundy, in the name of the duke her huſband, concluded a truce, for an indeterminate time, with Richard duke of York, regent of France, April 23, A. D. 1443 [98]. Plenipotentiaries from the kings of England and France met at Tours, to ſettle the terms of a perpetual peace, or long truce. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was at the head of the Engliſh negotiators, and the duke of Orleans at the head of thoſe of France. It ſoon appeared, that a final peace could not yet be obtained; and therefore the plenipotentiaries concluded a truce, May 28, A. D. 1444, between the two kings and their allies on both ſides, from that time to April 1, A. D. 1446, during which period the conferences for a peace were to be continued [99]. By ſeveral ſubſequent treaties, this truce was prolonged to April 1, A. D. 1450 [100].

King Henry contracted.

The earl of Suffolk, preſuming upon the protection of his great friend the cardinal of Win-

97 Hall, f. 61—64. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 20.

98 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 24—26.

99 Id. ibid. p. 58—67.

100 Id. ibid. p 97. 164. 199. 214.

cheſter,

cheſter, engaged in another negotiation, for which A.D. 1444.
he doth not ſeem to have had any proper authority, and in which he was unfortunately too ſucceſsful. This was a treaty of marriage between his maſter king Henry and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reni, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, and duke of Anjou, who, with all theſe pompous titles, was the pooreſt prince in Europe. From his three kingdoms he derived not one farthing of revenue; and almoſt all his hereditary eſtates were in the hands of the Engliſh, or mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy (to whom he had been a priſoner) for his ranſom. With this princeſs, therefore, no fortune could be expected. But that was not the worſt; for the king of France, her uncle, demanded and obtained a ſolemn engagement, that the king of England, in conſideration of this marriage, ſhould ſurrender all the places he held in Anjou and Main to the duke of Anjou, and his brother Charles earl of Main, who was king Charles's favourite and prime miniſter. As ſoon as the earl of Suffolk had concluded this fatal contract, he haſtened into England to procure its ratification [101].

When this contract (which had been contrived by the cardinal of Wincheſter and the earl of Suffolk, in order to have a queen in their intereſt, and indebted to them for her elevation) was laid before the Engliſh council, the earl, in a long ſpeech, magnified the high birth, the great beauty, and admirable accompliſhments of the princeſs, which, The contract approved in council.

[101] Hall, f. 65. Stow, p. 383, 384.

he

A.D. 1444. he ſaid, were more valuable than all the gold and ſilver in the world; and repreſented further, that by her near relation to the king, queen, and prime miniſter of France, ſhe would procure a ſpeedy and honourable peace. The young king was as much pleaſed, as one of his monkiſh character could be, with the deſcription given by the earl of the charms and endowments of his intended bride. The cardinal and his party in the council applauded this tranſaction in the ſtrongeſt terms. In a word, it met with no oppoſition but from the duke of Glouceſter, who plainly diſcerned its tendency, and the deſign of its promoters. That prince affirmed, that the king was already ſolemnly contracted to a daughter of the earl of Armagnac, who, being now reſtored to his eſtates, was ready to perform the conditions of the contract: that by adhering to this engagement, which could not be violated without diſhonour, the king would obtain an amiable conſort, an ample fortune, and a powerful ally. But theſe objections were diſregarded: and this oppoſition anſwered no other end but to inflame the reſentment of Margaret againſt the duke, and increaſe her attachment to his enemies [102].

A.D. 1445. Henry's marriage. Still further to ſtrengthen their party, the cardinal and Suffolk perſuaded the king, who was wholly under their direction, to confer additional honours on ſome of the moſt powerful of the nobility. John Holland earl of Huntington, was made duke of Exeter; Humphrey earl of Stafford,

[102] Hall, f. 65.

duke

duke of Buckingham; Henry de Beauchamp earl of Warwick, duke of Warwick, and king of the Iſle of Wight [103]; the earl of Suffolk was created marquis of Suffolk, and ſent, with a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, to conduct the future queen into England, where, in an evil hour, ſhe landed, April A. D. 1445, and was married to the king at Southwich, in Hampſhire, on the 22d of that month and crowned with great pomp, at Weſtminſter, May 30 [104]. A. D. 1445.

The cardinal and Suffolk ſoon found, that the queen they had choſen was admirably fitted for promoting the ſelfiſh ambitious ends which they had in view. By her beauty and addreſs, ſhe gained an entire aſcendant over her weak and ductile huſband. He reſigned the reins of government into her hands; which ſhe, being naturally bold, active, and ambitious, graſped with eagerneſs. Knowing to whom ſhe was indebted for her elevation, ſhe entered keenly into all their projects, and adopted all their paſſions, particularly their hatred of the duke of Glouceſter. That prince attempted to efface the unfavourable impreſſions his oppoſition to her marriage had made upon her mind, by meeting her on her road to London with 500 of his followers in one livery. But in vain: his deſtruction was determined by Margaret and her confidents [105]. Character of the queen.

The queen and her friends being now in the zenith of their power and popularity, they procured A. D. 1446 Suffolk's conduct

[103] Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 49. Dugdale's Baron. vol. 1. p. 248.
[104] Hall, f. 66. Stow, p. 384. Fabian, f. 193-165.
[105] Id. ibid.

A. D. 1446. approved by parliament.

from parliament a large ſupply, and the repeal of an act made in the reign of Henry V.—"That no "peace ſhould be made with the dauphin of "France, without the aſſent of the three eſtates in "parliament[106]." Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the marquis of Suffolk made a long and pompous harangue in the houſe of peers, June 22, A. D. 1446, extolling his own wiſdom, zeal, and ſucceſs. In negotiating the truce with France, and the king's marriage, and requeſting their approbation of his conduct in theſe weighty affairs; which was granted. On the day after he made a ſimilar harangue and requeſt in the houſe of commons; and, on the 24th, William Burghly, their ſpeaker, attended by many of the members, went up to the houſe of peers, where the king was ſeated on his throne, and in the name of the commons of England, deſired the concurence of the lords in petitioning the king to reward the marquis of Suffolk for his meritorious ſervices. This was granted; and all the members of both houſes, on their knees, preſented the petition to the king, which was graciouſly received, and favourably anſwered[107]. How different, in a few years after, were the ſentiments of parliament on theſe ſubjects.

A. D. 1447. Death of the duke of Glouceſter.

The queen, the cardinal, and Suffolk, thinking they might now attempt and execute any thing with impunity, determined to rid themſelves of their moſt formidable adverſary the duke of Glouceſter. The laſt parliament had been ſo obſequious, that

[106] Parliament Hiſt. vol. 11. p. 241.

[107] Hall. f. 67. Stow, p. 385. Daniel in Kennet, p. 394, &c.

they

they ſeem to have imagined they could procure his legal condemnation. With this view a parliament was ſummoned to meet at St. Edmundſbury, February 10, A. D. 1447. The duke dreading no danger, came from his caſtle of the Devizes, with a ſmall retinue, to the place appointed. At the opening of the parliament every thing was tranſacted in the uſual form, and nothing appeared to excite ſuſpicion. But on the next day the lord Beaumont, conſtable of England, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and ſeveral other peers of Suffolk's party, arreſted and impriſoned the duke of Glouceſter, ſeizing at the ſame time all his attendants, and committing them to different priſons. The courtiers gave out, that the duke had formed a conſpiracy to kill the king, and place himſelf on the throne; to deliver his ducheſs from priſon, and make her queen of England; and that he was to be immediately brought to trial for high treaſon. But finding that this improbable tale, of which they could produce no evidence, met with no credit, they changed their plan, and reſolved to diſpatch him privately, rather than bring him to a public trial. Accordingly, ſome time after his commitment, he was one morning found dead in his bed, though he had been in perfect health on the preceding evening. His dead body, which had no marks of violence upon it, was expoſed to the view of the parliament and of the people, to perſuade them that he had died a natural death. But in this they had but little ſucceſs; for though the ſeveral reports that were circulated concerning the manner A. D. 1447.

A. D. 1447. of his death were probably no better than mere conjectures, it was univerſally believed that he had fallen a victim to the malice and cruelty of his three capital enemies; who on that account became the objects of public hatred [108]. One of the moſt inveterate of theſe enemies, the rich, cunning, and ambitious cardinal of Wincheſter, did not long ſurvive him, dying, April 11, in great horror, and bitterly reproaching his riches, becauſe they could not prolong his life [109].

The queen and Suffolk odious.

After the death of the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, the marquis of Suffolk became the ſole miniſter of ſtate, and great favourite of the queen. To ſilence the clamours of the people againſt Suffolk, for the ſurrender of Anjou and Main, in conſequence of the queen's contract of marriage, which he had negotiated, the king iſſued a proclamation, June 18, declaring his entire approbation of his conduct in that tranſaction [110]: a ſhallow device, which could have little or no effect. The queen and her favourite were ſtill more ſeverely cenſured by the public, for the murder of the duke of Glouceſter; and the method they took to free themſelves from thoſe cenſures, had a tendency to confirm them. Several of the duke's friends and followers were tried before the marquis of Suffolk, and ſome other commiſſioners of his party, and found guilty (upon little or no evidence) of the higheſt ſpecies of high treaſon, a conſpiracy to kill the king, and place the duke of

[108] Hall, f. 69. Stow. p. 386. Continuatio Hiſt. Croyl. p. 521.
[109] Hall, f. 70.
[110] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 172.

Glou-

Glouceſter on the throne. But Suffolk, finding that he had gone too far, and that the execution of ſo many gentlemen, who were univerſally believed to be innocent, would greatly inflame the public hatred againſt him, procured them a pardon; for which he could invent no better reaſon than this, "That the king, from his cradle, had a ſingular "veneration for the glorious and immaculate Vir-"gin Mary the mother of God;" and becauſe the feaſt of her Aſſumption was near at hand, he pardoned thoſe gentlemen, who, with many others, had conſpired to deprive him of his crown and life [111]. This ridiculous reaſon convinced all the world of their innocence, and of the guilt of thoſe who had firſt condemned them, and afterwards procured their pardon. The indecent haſte and rapacity with which the queen and Suffolk ſeized on the great eſtates of the duke of Glouceſter, or beſtowed them on their creatures, rendered them juſtly and completely odious [112]. A. D. 1447

Though Richard duke of York, on his return from France, after the concluſion of the late truce, had his conduct as regent of France approved by the king and council, and received a new commiſſion of regency for five years longer; the queen and Suffolk, ſuſpecting that he would obſtruct the ſurrender of Anjou and Main, deprived him of that high office, and beſtowed it on Edmund duke of Somerſet [113]: an injury of which they ſoon had reaſon to repent. For the duke of York, irritated The duke of York aſpires to the crown.

[111] Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 178. [112] Id. ibid. p. 155. 158.
[113] Hall, f. 67.

A.D. 1447. at this affront, and encouraged by the weakneſs of the king, and the miſconduct of the queen and Suffolk, began to caſt his eyes upon the crown, employing emiſſaries in all parts of the kingdom to explain his right, extol his merits, and repreſent the neceſſity of a revolution in his favour. This had a great effect, and ſoon produced thoſe bloody wars, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, which brought England to the brink of ruin.

A. D. 1448. Surrender of Anjou and Main. The king of France did not forget to demand the ſurrender of the provinces of Anjou and Main, as ſtipulated in the marriage-contract of the queen of England; and that demand was one cauſe of thoſe calamities that were crowded into the ſubſequent years of this unhappy reign. For though the queen and her favourite Suffolk were ſufficiently diſpoſed to ſurrender thoſe provinces, the people of England loudly exclaimed againſt it; and the Engliſh troops, which had them in their poſſeſſion, were very unwilling to give them up; and ſome of them obſtinately refuſed to do it till they were compelled by force [114].

Breach of the truce. When theſe troops (particularly the garriſon of Mans, which had been moſt refractory) arrived in Normandy, they met with a very cold reception, and could obtain no eſtabliſhment, which induced about 2500 of them, commanded by ſir Francis Surienne, a ſoldier of fortune, late governor of Mans, to ſeize the rich trading town of Fougiers in Britanny, and to procure ſubſiſtence by plunder-

[114] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 5.

ing

ing the ſurrounding country. The duke of Britanny, juſtly enraged at this infraction of the truce, in which he was included as an ally and vaſſal of the king of France, demanded reparation of the injury from the duke of Somerſet, who returned a ſoft anſwer, promiſing reparation. But as this was not immediately performed, the duke of Britanny carried his complaints to the king of France, who demanded immediate ſatisfaction, in a moſt peremptory tone; and that this might not be eaſily given, he eſtimated the damages ſuſtained by the duke of Britanny at 1,600,000 crowns. The duke of Somerſet, wiſhing to avoid a rupture, for which he was not prepared, propoſed a conference, in order to an agreement. A conference was accordingly held at Louviers; but broke up without any accommodation [115]. A.D.1448.

King Charles, having ſpent ſeveral years in making preparations for war, was now in perfect readineſs, and invaded Normandy, in July and Auguſt, with four different armies. It would be equally tedious and perplexing to trace theſe ſeveral armies in their progreſs. It is ſufficient to ſay, that it was very rapid, and they met with very little reſiſtance. The fortifications of the towns and caſtles were in bad repair; they were not properly ſtored with proviſions, arms, and ammunition; the garriſons were ill paid, and worſe diſciplined; and the inhabitants were violently diſaffected to the Engliſh government. Some go- A.D. 1449 Loſs of Normandy.

[115] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 7. Hall, f. 70.

A. D. 449. vernors were abſent; others were foreigners, and ſoldiers of fortune, and either changed ſides, or ſold the places which they commanded to the enemy. In a word, the far greateſt part both of Upper and Lower Normandy changed maſters in leſs than four months; the duke of Somerſet remaining all that time at Rouen in a kind of political ſtupor, without increaſing the garriſon, repairing the works, laying in proviſions, or doing any thing to enable him to reſiſt the approaching ſtorm. Charles, encouraged by his own ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and the ſtrange infatuation of his enemies, inveſted that capital, in the beginning of October, with an army of 50,000 men. The Engliſh garriſon conſiſted of about 2000; a force quite inadequate to the defence of ſo great a city, eſpecially as the citizens were as hoſtile as the beſiegers. For after they had failed in an attempt to betray the place to the enemy, they took up arms, drove the duke of Somerſet, with a great part of the garriſon, into the palace, and compelled him to conſent to a moſt diſhonourable capitulation; by which he not only ſurrendered Rouen, but alſo Arques, Caudbec, Tankerville, l'Iſle-Bonne, Honfleur, and Monſter-Villiers, on condition that he and the Engliſh garriſon ſhould be allowed to go where they pleaſed; leaving the brave Talbot earl of Srewſbury, and ſeveral young noblemen, hoſtages, till all the towns were given up. All theſe towns were accordingly evacuated, except Honfleur, which was beſieged and taken, February 18, A. D. 1450[116]. The

[116] Monſtrelet, f. 83—86. Hall, f. 72.

French,

French, very wiſely reſolving to proſecute their good fortune, and to give the Engliſh no time to recover from their conſternation, carried on the war through the winter, the next ſpring, and ſummer, without intermiſſion, till they had driven their enemies entirely out of Normandy. Cherburg, the laſt town they held in that country, ſurrendered, Auguſt 12, A. D. 1450 [117]. Thus, in one campaign, and almoſt without a ſtruggle, the Engliſh loſt the large, fertile, and populous province of Normandy, containing above 100 fortified towns, and that only a few years after they had a probable proſpect of ſubduing the whole kingdom of France. So precarious is the proſperity of nations, as well as of particular perſons, and ſo much doth it depend (under Providence) on the wiſdom, virtue, and valour, of thoſe who have the adminiſtration of their affairs. A. D. 1449.

The loſs of Normandy, and of ſeveral places in Guienne; an inſurrection in Ireland, to quell which the duke of York had been ſent; together with the oppreſſions committed in the internal government of the kingdom, had greatly increaſed the diſcontent, and inflamed the rage of the people of England againſt the queen and her favourite (who had lately been created duke of Suffolk), to whom all theſe loſſes and oppreſſions were imputed [118]. Theſe diſcontents ſoon broke out into acts of violence and rebellion. In the beginning of this year, January 9, Adam Molyns, biſhop of Chicheſter, and keeper A. D. 1450. Inſurrections.

[117] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 96, &c.

[118] Rym Fœd. tom. 11. p. 268.

of

A.D. 1450. of the privy ſeal, a creature of the duke of Suffolk, was murdered by the populace at Portſmouth [119]. William Aſcough, biſhop of Sāliſbury, another of the duke's agents, ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate[120]. One Thomas Thany, a fuller, nicknamed Blue-beard, excited an inſurrection in Kent, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and Thany, with ſome others, were executed at Canterbury, 9th February [121].

Trial of the duke of Suffolk.

A parliament had been ſummoned laſt year, but had been ſeveral times prorogued, without doing any buſineſs. It met at Weſtminſter, January 22, this year; and on the 28th of that month, the ſpeaker and members of the houſe of commons appeared in the houſe of lords, and accuſed the duke of Suffolk of high treaſon, and, in particular, that he had ſold this kingdom to the French; on which the duke was committed to the tower. On February 7, the chancellor and the ſpeaker gave to the king in parliament a formal accuſation of the duke, conſiſting of nine articles; and on the 9th of March, the commons, by their ſpeaker, exhibited a further accuſation of high crimes and miſdemeanours, containing ſixteen articles. On the 17th of that month, the duke being brought into the houſe of lords, the king ſeated on the throne, the chancellor aſked him, how he would be tried; to which, profeſſing his innocence, he replied, that he referred himſelf entirely to the king's award. Upon this, the chancellor, by the king's command, without conſulting the peers, pronounced

[119] Stow, p. 387.
[120] Continuatio Hiſt. Croyland. p. 525.
[121] Stow, p. 387.

upon

upon him a ſentence of baniſhment from all the king's dominions for five years [122]. This irregular mode of proceeding was adopted, to preſerve the duke from being found guilty of high treaſon by his peers; which would have been the conſequence of a regular trial. A. D. 1450.

Death of Suffolk.

Suffolk, being fully convinced that he could not be ſafe in England, where he was univerſally hated, made haſte to go into baniſhment, and embarked at Ipſwich, May 3. But his enemies, who had watched all his motions, determined that he ſhould not eſcape. He was overtaken at ſea by a ſhip belonging to the duke of Exeter, called the *Nicolas of the Tower*, whoſe captain boarded the duke's ſhip, ſeized his perſon, brought him back to Dover, ſtruck off his head on the ſide of a cock-boat, and left his mangled remains upon the beach [123]. In this ignominious manner periſhed William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who was certainly one of the moſt daring, corrupt, and pernicious miniſters that ever managed the affairs of England.

J. Cade's inſurrection.

The queen, equally enraged and grieved at the death of her favourite, breathed nothing but revenge, eſpecially againſt the people of Kent; which excited a ſecond inſurrection in that county, far more formidable than the firſt. It was headed by an artful, bold adventurer, whoſe real name was John Cade; but he aſſumed the name of John Mortimer, to entice the friends of that family,

[122] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 255—259. Hall. f. 75, 76.
[123] Continuatio Hiſt. Croyland. p. 525. Hall, f. 76. Stow, p. 388.

and

A.D. 1450. and thoſe who favoured the title of the duke of York, to join him. Some hiſtorians affirm, that he was ſet to work by that prince, who was then in Ireland, in order to diſcover the ſentiments of the people of England concerning his title to the crown[124]. But of this there is not ſufficient evidence. Cade, having collected a conſiderable number of the common people, by ſpecious promiſes of reforming all abuſes, which procured him the name of *John Amend-all*, marched towards London, and encamped on Blackheath, June 1. From thence the inſurgents ſent two addreſſes to the king and council, the one intitled.—*The complaints of the commons of Kent, and cauſes of the aſſembly on the Blackheath*; the other,—*The requeſts of the captain of the great aſſembly in Kent.* Theſe addreſſes were artfully drawn, profeſſing the greateſt attachment to the perſon and government of the king; requeſting the redreſs of certain great and real grievances, the puniſhment of certain evil counſellors, who had oppreſſed the people at home and loſt the king's dominions abroad; and that the king would govern, by the advice of the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, and the well-affected barons of the kingdom[125]. As ſeveral of the perſons marked out for deſtruction were members of the council, theſe addreſſes were rejected, and a reſolution formed to ſubdue the inſurgents by force. An army of about 15,000 men was raiſed, and marched againſt the inſurgents, who retired to

[124] Hall, f. 77. [125] Stow, p. 390, 391.

the

the woody country about Sevenoaks; on which A. D. 1450.
ſir Humphrey Stafford was ſent with a body of troops in purſuit of the fugitives. He overtook and engaged them near Sevenoaks; but he and his brother were both killed, and his troops defeated [126].

Cade and his followers, greatly elated by this victory, returned to their former ſtation on Blackheath, June 29. This affair was now become very ſerious and alarming. Not only the common people in general, but many perſons of rank and fortune, favoured the revolters; and even the vaſſals of the court lords diſcovered an unwillingneſs to fight againſt them. In theſe circumſtances, lenient meaſures were adopted; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were ſent to treat with them. Cade, in a long conference with theſe ambaſſadors, behaved with equal decency and firmneſs; treating them with much reſpect, but refuſing to lay down his arms, till the requiſitions in his addreſs were granted. On the return of theſe meſſengers, the lord Say, who was moſt obnoxious to the inſurgents, was committed to priſon; and the court, not daring to truſt to the protection of the army, retired to Kenilworth caſtle, leaving the lord Scales with a ſufficient garriſon in the tower of London. Cade, with his followers, came to Southwark, July 1; and after ſome heſitation were admitted into London. There they ſeized, and, without any trial, beheaded the lord Say and Seale, late high treaſurer of England, and Continued.

[126] Stow, p. 390, 391.

his

A.D. 1450. his ſon-in-law ſir James Cromer, ſheriff of Kent. For a few days they behaved tolerably well; but being perſons of low birth and indigent circumſtances, they could not long behold great wealth within their reach, without ſeizing ſome of it, of which their leader ſet them an example. This alarmed the more opulent citizens, who, with the aſſiſtance of the lord Scales, drove the plunderers out of the city, July 5. They attempted next day to break in by the bridge; but after a long and bloody ſtruggle, they were obliged to deſiſt, and agree to a ſhort truce. The archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, who reſided in the tower, being informed by their ſpies, that they were much diſpirited by their late repulſe, cauſed a pardon under the great ſeal to be proclaimed in Southwark, to all who immediately departed to their own homes. This well-timed proclamation produced a wonderful effect. In a few hours that army, lately ſo formidable, diſappeared. Cade, finding himſelf thus abandoned, put his booty on board a barge, and ſent it to Rocheſter, and proceeded by land with a few attendants: but being denied admittance into Queenborough caſtle, he diſmiſſed all his followers, and put on a diſguiſe. A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, offering a reward of 1000 marks to any who brought him in, dead or alive. He was diſcovered lurking in a garden at Hothfield in Suſſex, by Alexander Eden, a gentleman of Kent, and, making ſome reſiſtance, was killed, and his body brought to London [127]. Thus

127 Stow, p. 391, 392. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 275.

ended an inſurrection which, under a leader of higher rank and greater honour, might have produced a revolution. A.D. 1450.

About this time Edmund duke of Somerſet returned into England (having loſt Normandy, and all the territories of the Engliſh in the north of France, except Calais), and took poſſeſſion of that place, in the favour of the queen and hatred of the nation, which had been filled by the late duke of Suffolk: an unfortunate circumſtance, which prolonged the diſcontents of the people, and the confuſions of the country. Duke of Somerſet returns to England.

While England was a ſcene of the moſt violent faction and diſcord, the French were employed in conquering Guienne, and the Engliſh territories in the ſouth of France, which they would not have attempted in other circumſtances; and, to their own ſurpriſe, they made this conqueſt with greater eaſe, and in a ſhorter time, than that of Normandy. For though the people of the principality of Aquitaine dreaded falling under the dominion of the French, and were warmly attached to the Engliſh government, under which they and their anceſtors had lived happily about 300 years; yet, knowing the diſtracted ſtate of England, and that they could not expect any effectual protection from thence, the far greateſt part of the nobility ſubmitted without reſiſtance, in order to preſerve their honours and eſtates; and many of the fortified towns, for ſimilar reaſons, opened their gates to the French troops as ſoon as they appeared. It would be tedious to attend the progreſs of the French armies in making this conqueſt. It is ſufficient A.D. 1451. The French recover Guienne.

A. D. 1451. ficient to ſay, that they met with little oppoſition except from the city of Bourdeaux; and that this conqueſt was completed by taking poſſeſſion of Bayonne (the laſt place held by the Engliſh), 25th Auguſt A. D. 1451 [128]. In this manner, and in ſo ſhort a time, not only all the conqueſts of Henry V. but alſo all the hereditary dominions of the kings of England on the continent, were loſt. The truth is, that as the conqueſts of Henry V. were chiefly owing to the violent factions which then prevailed in France, ſo the loſs of theſe conqueſts, and other dominions, was alſo chiefly owing to the no leſs violent factions which at this time prevailed in England. So true it is, that *a kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand.*

A. D. 1452. Duke of York takes up arms. About this time, Richard duke of York returned from Ireland, after he had quieted the commotions, and gained the hearts of the people of that kingdom, by his mild and prudent conduct. The attempts that had been made to prevent his landing in England, left him no room to doubt of the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the court, and made him hold frequent conferences with his friends about his future operations. By their advice, he raiſed an army in Wales, where the intereſt of the Mortimer family was greateſt, and marched with it towards London; giving out, that his only intention in taking up arms, was to redreſs the grievances of the nation, and bring the authors of thoſe grievances, particularly the duke of Somerſet, to juſtice. When he approached the city, he was informed that the gates would be ſhut againſt him; on which he

[128] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 32—40.

paſſed

paſſed the Thames at Kingſton, and encamped on Burnt-heath, near Dartford [129]. A.D. 1452.

In the mean time, the queen and the duke of Somerſet, with the aſſiſtance of the lords who adhered to the court, raiſed an army, with which they marched towards their enemies, and encamped on Blackheath. When the two armies lay in this poſture, the king ſent two biſhops and two lords to the duke of York, to demand the reaſon of his appearing in arms. His anſwer was the ſame with his declarations to the public: to which he added, "That as ſoon as the duke of Somerſet was con-"fined, in order to his trial, he would diſband "his army, and attend the king as his moſt humble "and loyal ſubject." This propoſal was agreed to; the duke of Somerſet was confined, or rather confined himſelf; the duke of York diſbanded his army, and waited on the king in his tent, March 1. But how great was his ſurpriſe, when he ſaw his capital enemy (whom he believed to be confined), in the royal preſence, at full liberty! Though he perceived that he was enſnared, and in the hands of his enemies, he could not reſtrain his indignation, but boldly accuſed Somerſet of high treaſon, who retorted the accuſation with equal boldneſs. As ſoon as the duke of York left the royal tent, he was arreſted, and conducted to London [130]. He is enſnared.

When Henry returned to Weſtminſter, he called a great council of the nobility, to conſider the mutual accuſations of the two dukes. The duke of Somerſet, who was at full liberty, and in the Is delivered.

[129] Stow, p. 393. Hall, f. 81. [130] Id. ibid.

A.D. 1452. higheſt favour, earneſtly inſiſted, that the duke of York ſhould be condemned, and executed as a traitor; all his eſtates confiſcated, and all his family ſeized, as the only means of preſerving the king and all the houſe of Lancaſter from deſtruction. But this meaſure appeared too violent, in the preſent temper of the nation, to many of his own party; and ſeveral incidents occurred, which prevented its being carried into execution. A report prevailed, that Edward earl of March, the duke's eldeſt ſon, at the head of an army, was on his way to London, to reſcue his father. At the ſame time, commiſſioners arrived at court from the nobility of Guienne, and the citizens of Bourdeaux, repreſenting the earneſt deſire of the people of that country to return to their obedience to England, and praying for a fleet and army to aſſiſt them to ſhake off the French yoke. The queen and Somerſet, knowing that the loſs of that country had made them the objects of public hatred, earneſtly deſired to recover it, in order to regain the favour of the people. This they could not do, if they executed their deſign againſt the duke of York. They reſolved therefore to ſet his perſon free, but to bind his conſcience by the ſtrongeſt ties. He was carried to St. Paul's church; where, in the preſence of many prelates, lords, and others, he ſwore upon the croſs, that he would never take up arms againſt the king, on any pretence. Being then liberated, he retired to his caſtle of Wigmore in Herefordſhire, and lived for ſome time in great

 privacy,

privacy, waiting an opportunity to revenge his wrongs, and aſſert his rights [131]. A.D. 1452.

This internal commotion being thus quieted, a commiſſion was granted to the famous Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, to raiſe a body of troops for the aid of the people of Guienne, according to their requeſt. Though this venerable warrior was now in the 80th year of his age, he executed this commiſſion with all the ſpirit and activity of youth; and when the army was ready to embark, he was conſtituted the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine, with very ample powers, September 2 [132]. He landed, October 17, with about 4000 men, in the Iſle of Medoc, near Bourdeaux; and being joined by L'Eſpare, the moſt conſiderable perſon in thoſe parts, that ſmall territory immediately ſubmitted. The citizens of Bourdeaux ſent meſſengers to him with great ſecrecy, inviting him to advance, and promiſing to admit his army at one of the gates which was in their poſſeſſion. He accordingly entered the city, October 23, without oppoſition, and made the French garriſon priſoners [133]. Having remained there about three weeks, to ſecure that important conqueſt, and refreſh his troops; and having received a reinforcement of 4000 men, commanded by his ſon the lord Liſle, with a fleet of eighty ſhips loaded with proviſions, he marched out, and in a very ſhort time reduced all the Bourdelois, and ſome places in Perigord [134]. Attempt to recover Guienne.

131 Stow, p. 395. Hall, f. 81, 82.
132 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 313.
133 Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 41.
134 Id. ibid.

A.D. 1453. Talbot earl of Shrewsbury killed.

When Charles VII. king of France received intelligence of this revolution, he was at the head of an army, which he had raiſed againſt his ſon the dauphin, and the duke of Savoy, and he immediately detached a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the earl of Clermont, his lieutenant in Guienne, and prepared to follow them with his whole army. As ſoon as that army arrived, the tide of ſucceſs began to turn. The French took Chalais, and inveſted Caſtillon, a place of great ſtrength and importance, July 13. Apprehending that the Engliſh would attempt to raiſe the ſiege, they fortified their camp, planting a numerous artillery on its ramparts. The earl of Shrewſbury, with his ſon the lord Liſle, immediately marched from Bourdeaux towards Caſtillon, at the head of 1000 men at arms, and 5000 archers. When they approached the French camp, they were aſtoniſhed at its ſtrength. The men at arms diſmounted; and the brave Talbot, riding on a pony, being, from his great age, unable to walk, encouraged his men, and commanded the aſſault. The conflict was fierce and bloody; and though the enemy's artillery made great havoc among the Engliſh, they broke into the camp, and the French began to recoil; when a freſh body of Britons advanced to the charge, and changed the fortune of the day. Talbot was wounded in the beginning of the action: and about an hour after, his horſe was killed by a cannon-ball, and he was thrown on the ground. In this extremity, he earneſtly conjured his ſon, lord Liſle, to retire, and ſave himſelf for the future ſervice of his

his country. But that young nobleman choſe rather to die with, than to deſert his renowned father: they were both ſlain; and the Engliſh fled, leaving about 1000 of their number dead on the field of battle, July 23 [135]. A. D. 1453.

After the defeat of the Engliſh at Caſtillon, the French met with little oppoſition till they reached Bourdeaux, which they inveſted with a powerful army, Auguſt 1. The king, attended by the princes of the blood, and a numerous train of nobles, commanded at this ſiege, and puſhed it with great vigour; and the place was no leſs vigorouſly defended, by a garriſon of 4000 Engliſh, and 6000 citizens and people of the country. But at length, having no proſpect of relief, and their proviſions beginning to fail, they ſurrendered the city, October 17; and the Engliſh were permitted to depart with all their goods [136]. Thus were theſe very valuable territories in the ſouth of France, containing 4 archbiſhoprics, 24 biſhoprics, 15 earldoms, 202 baronies, totally and finally loſt; by which the revenues of the crown were diminiſhed, the national character degraded, and many perſons who poſſeſſed great eſtates and offices in thoſe countries ruined. Bourdeaux taken.

When the diſcontents occaſioned by theſe loſſes were at the higheſt, the queen was delivered of a ſon (at Weſtminſter, October 13), who was named Edward [137]. That princeſs was at this time ſo un- Birth of prince Edward.

[135] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 57. Hall, f. 84.
[136] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. f. 58, 59.
[137] Stow, p. 396.

A.D. 1453. popular, that many defamatory tales concerning her were propagated, and generally believed: but they do not merit a place in hiſtory. Soon after the delivery of the queen, the king fell into a lingering diſtemper, which greatly debilitated both his body and mind, and rendered him unfit for any buſineſs[138]. This, with the general and violent hatred of the people againſt the queen and her favourite the duke of Somerſet threw the court into great confuſion and perplexity.

A. D. 1454. Duke of York protector.

Encouraged by theſe circumſtances, the duke of York emerged from his retirement, and came to London, attended by ſome of the moſt powerful lords of his party, particularly Richard Nevile earl of Saliſbury, and his ſon of the ſame name, earl of Warwick, the moſt potent and popular noblemen in the kingdom. The courtiers, alarmed at the arrival of theſe great men, with numerous retinues, in the capital, adviſed the queen to admit the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, with ſome others of their party, into the council, to allay the ferment in the nation, and prevent a civil war. Theſe noblemen being accordingly admitted, ſoon became predominant. The duke of Somerſet was ſeized in the queen's chamber, and committed to the Tower[139]. The duke of York was appointed to hold a parliament, which was to meet at Weſtminſter, February 14, by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, dated February 13[140]. An accuſation againſt the duke of Somerſet was preſented to

[138] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 347.
[139] Hall, f. 85.
[140] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 344.

the

the houſe of peers, but not proſecuted, which was probably owing to the ſhortneſs of the ſeſſion and multiplicity of buſineſs [141]. Cardinal John Kemp, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, having died in the mean time, a deputation was ſent from the houſe of lords to the king at Windſor, to know his pleaſure concerning the perſons who were to fill theſe two high offices. The deputies on their return reported to the houſe, March 25, "That they had been to wait on the "king at Windſor; and after three ſeveral repairs "thither, and earneſt ſolicitations to ſpeak with "the king, they could by no means have any "anſwer, or token of anſwer, being only told the "king was ſick." The parliament (in which the York party prevailed) having ſufficient evidence of the king's incapacity for government, made an act appointing Richard duke of York protector of the kingdom during the king's pleaſure, or till prince Edward came to years of diſcretion; and this act was confirmed by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, April 3 [142]. At the ſame time the earl of Saliſbury, the chief confident of the duke of York, was made chancellor [143]. The duke of Somerſet was deprived of the government of Calais, which was granted to the duke of York, July 28, for ſeven years, with a power to appoint all his officers [144].

A. D. 1454.

As long as the king continued ill and incapable of buſineſs, and the duke of Somerſet a priſoner

A. D. 1455. Duke of York deprived of the protectorſhip.

[141] Stow, p. 397.
[142] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 346.
[143] Id. ibid. p. 345.
[144] Id. ibid. p. 351.

A. D. 1455. in the Tower, the queen was conſtrained to remain quiet, and allow the duke of York to manage all affairs as protector of the kingdom. This ſeems to have lulled that prince aſleep, and to have made him imagine he was in no danger of loſing his power. But he was ſoon undeceived: for the king having recovered his health in ſome meaſure, about the beginning of this year, at the inſtigation of the queen, revoked the duke of York's commiſſion of protector, and took the reins of government into his own hands, or rather put them into the hands of his active ambitious conſort. One of the firſt effects of this revolution, was the deliverance of the duke of Somerſet from his confinement in the Tower of London, February 5 [145].

Arbitration. The animoſity between the dukes of York and Somerſet was now become ſo violent, that it threatened the kingdom with an immediate civil war. To prevent this ſeveral great men interpoſed, and prevailed upon the two enraged dukes, on March 4, to ſubmit the determination of all their diſputes to certain arbitrators, mutually choſen, who were to give in their verdict before June 20 [146]. But this pacific ſcheme proved abortive, and this quarrel was ſooner decided in another way.

First battle of St. Albans. The king, after his recovery, or rather the queen and Somerſet, not contented with depriving the duke of York of the protectorſhip, deprived him ſoon after of the government of Calais, though he had a grant of it under the privy ſeal for ſeven

[145] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 361, 362. [146] Id. ibid. p. 362, 363.

years,

years [147]. The duke, enraged at this laſt injury, gave up all thoughts of a reconciliation with Somerſet, retired into Wales, and raiſed an army among his friends and vaſſals in that country; and being joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, the lord Cobham, &c. with their followers, he marched towards London. On the other ſide, the dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham, the earls of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorſet, Pembroke, and other lords of the Lancaſtrian party, having raiſed an army, marched, with the king at their head, from Weſtminſter, May 21, encamped that night at Watford, and next morning took poſſeſſion of St. Albans. On the evening of the ſame day, the duke of York encamped at Keyfield, in the neighbourhood of that town, and next morning, May 23, drew up his army in order of battle. Having received a diſdainful anſwer to a reſpectful meſſage he had ſent to the king, he aſſaulted the town in ſeveral places with great fury, and for ſome time met with a vigorous reſiſtance. But the earl of Warwick having forced his way into Holywell ſtreet, and admitted the duke with the braveſt of his followers, a fierce conflict enſued, in which many fell on both ſides. At length, the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, being killed, and the king, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorſet, the lord Sudly, and many others, wounded, A.D. 1455.

[147] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 351. 363.

the

A.D. 1455 the royaliſts fled or ſurrendered, and the Yorkiſts obtained a complete victory [148].

Moderation of the duke of York.

On this occaſion the duke of York acted with uncommon temper and moderation. Being informed that the king was wounded, and had taken ſhelter in a tanner's houſe, he, with the earl of Saliſbury, waited upon him, and, falling upon their knees, declared themſelves his moſt loyal ſubjects, ready to obey his commands. Henry's terrors being a little diſpelled by this declaration, he intreated them to put a ſtop to the purſuit and ſlaughter; with which they immediately complied [149]. Whether this extraordinary moderation of the duke of York was the effect of his natural diſpoſition, or proceeded from political conſiderations, may be a little doubtful; though its uniformity through the whole of this conteſt makes it probable that it was natural. Many conquerors would have made a very different uſe of ſuch a victory. The duke conducted the king to London, May 24, treating him with every mark of ſubmiſſion and reſpect.

The duke of York protector.

The victorious party purſued the ſame moderate meaſures in a parliament which met at Weſtminſter July 9. The duke of York contented himſelf with procuring an act of indemnity for himſelf, and all who had appeared with him in arms againſt the king at the battle of St. Albans. All the prelates and peers of both parties renewed their oaths of

[148] T. Wethamſtede, tom. 2. p. 353—357. Stow, p. 399.
[149] Hall, f. 86. Stow, p. 400.

fealty

fealty to the king; and the ſeſſion ended, July 31, A. D. 1455. with a declaration of the innocence of the late duke of Glouceſter, a general pardon, and a prorogation to November 12 [150]. During this interval the duke of York managed all affairs, and did not neglect to beſtow ſeveral honourable and lucrative offices on his friends, particularly the government of Calais on the earl of Warwick [151]. When the parliament met again, November 12, the king being in a languiſhing ſtate, and incapable of buſineſs, the houſe of peers, at the earneſt requeſt of the commons, petitioned the king to appoint a protector of the kingdom. In compliance with this petition, the king conſtituted Richard duke of York protector and defender of the kingdom, till prince Edward came to years of diſcretion, or till his commiſſion was revoked by the king, with the conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament. This commiſſion was confirmed in parliament, November 19; and by virtue of another commiſſion, the duke prorogued the parliament from 12th December to 24th January, A. D. 1456 [152].

A. D. 1456. The duke deprived of the protectorſhip.

As this commiſſion could not be revoked without the conſent of the houſe of peers, at whoſe requeſt it had been given, the duke of York imagined that he was now firmly fixed in the protectorſhip. But he ſoon found that he was miſtaken. The queen, who dreaded to ſee a prince who had ſuch pretenſions to the crown in poſſeſſion of ſo

[150] Parl. Hiſt. v. 2. p. 278. 280. J. Wethamſtede, tom. 2. p. 365—377.

[151] Hall, f. 87.

[152] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 369, 370.

much

A.D. 1456. much power, laboured, by every inſinuating ſeductive art, to gain a majority of the lords to conſent to the revocation of the duke's commiſſion. Having ſucceeded in this, the king came into the houſe of peers, February 25, and declared, that he was in perfect health, and that there was now no need of a protector; he therefore requeſted their conſent to revoke the duke of York's commiſſion; which was granted[153].

A plot. The duke of York, chagrined to ſee himſelf thus outwitted by a woman, and unexpectedly deprived of all his power, left the court and retired, with the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, into Yorkſhire, where they had frequent meetings and conſultations. The queen was not ignorant of thoſe meetings; and, dreading their conſequences, ſhe formed a plot to enſnare her three moſt fomidable enemies at once, and get them into her power. As London was not a proper place for executing her deſign, ſhe conducted the king towards Coventry, under the pretence of giving him the country air and exerciſe for the benefit of his health. When the court arrived at Coventry, the king wrote, in the moſt preſſing terms, to the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, to come and attend a council on affairs of the greateſt moment. Theſe noblemen apprehending no danger, ſet out on their journey with a moderate retinue; but when they approached the city, having received a meſſage from a ſecret friend at court, charging them not to enter Coventry, but to fly for their lives, they turned, and fled different ways with

[153] Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 373.

great

great precipitation. The duke of York took A. D. 1456. ſhelter in his caſtle of Wigmore, the earl of Saliſbury in his caſtle of Middleham in Yorkſhire, and the earl of Warwick at Calais [154]. The diſperſion of theſe noblemen produced a temporary calm, and the court returned to Weſtminſter.

As the Engliſh had taken advantage of the violent factions which raged in France in the reign of Charles VI. ſo the French were diſpoſed to take advantage of the no leſs violent factions which now prevailed in England. But their own wounds were not yet ſo well healed, as to enable them to inflict very deep ones on their enemies. The marſhal de Brezé landed 4000 men, Auguſt 28, near Sandwich; and, after a long and bloody conflict, got poſſeſſion of the place, plundered it, and immediately re-embarked his troops, not daring to remain on ſhore ſo much as one night [155]. About the ſame time a body of Britons landed in Cornwall, plundered a few villages, and re-embarked with equal precipitation [156]. A.D. 1457. The French invade England.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other prelates and great men, alarmed at theſe attempts of foreign enemies, and ſtill more at the diſcord which reigned amongſt the nobility at home, laboured earneſtly to put an end to that diſcord, and bring about a coalition of parties. The king entered warmly into this ſcheme; and meſſengers were ſent with letters to all the great men of both parties, requiring and entreating them to come to London for that moſt neceſſary purpoſe. A. D. 1458. Seeming coalition of parties.

[154] Stow. p. 402. Hall, f. 88. [155] Monſtrelet, t. 3. f. 71.
[156] Hall, f 88.

A. D. 1458. Neither of the two parties was at this time ſo predominant as to dare to diſobey ſo reaſonable a requiſition. They came therefore from all quarters, but full of mutual diſtruſt and hatred, attended by numerous retinues of armed men. The duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, with the chief men of their party, were lodged in London, where they were ſecured from danger by the favour of the citizens, and the vigilance of ſir Godfrey Bollen lord mayor (who patrolled the ſtreets every night with a great body of armed men), as well as by their own followers. The noblemen of the court-party were lodged in Weſtminſter and the ſuburbs of London. After ſeveral conferences, a ſeeming reconciliation was concluded, and drawn up in the form of a decree, pronounced by the king March 24, as arbitrator between the two parties [157]. To render this reconciliation more conſpicuous, there was a ſolemn proceſſion of both parties, on the day after, to St. Paul's church, the duke of York leading the queen, and one of his party walking hand in hand with one of the other party, with all the external appearances of the moſt perfect cordiality [158]. But it was ſoon diſcovered that theſe appearances were deceitful.

Riot in London.

Soon after this proceſſion the duke of York and the earl of Saliſbury retired to York, and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais; from whence he was recalled in the month of July, to anſwer to certain complaints made againſt him by

[157] J. Wethamſtede, p. 419—428.

[158] Stow, p. 404. Hall, f. 90.

the

the merchants of Lubeck [159]. While he was in London attending this buſineſs, as he returned from court, September 9, he was in great danger of being killed in a fray that aroſe between ſome of the king's ſervants and ſome of his retinue. With great difficulty he made his way to the river, got into his barge, and eſcaped to London [160]. The earl and almoſt all the world believed that this was a plot formed againſt his life, by the queen and the young duke of Somerſet; he complained loudly of it as a flagrant violation of the late agreement, and haſtened into the north to conſult with his father and the duke of York. In this conſultation it was determined to be upon their guard, to put no truſt in the moſt ſolemn engagements of their enemies, and to depend upon their own ſtrength and courage for their ſafety. About the end of the year the earl of Warwick returned to Calais [161]. A.D. 1458.

The earl of Saliſbury, having made fruitleſs applications to court for the puniſhment of thoſe who had inſulted his ſon, the earl of Warwick, in London, collected his friends and vaſſals in the north, and marched with them towards Wales, to join the duke of York, who was raiſing his forces in thoſe parts, according to the concerted plan. But he was interrupted in his march by the lord Audley, who placed himſelf directly in his way, on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire and Shropſhire, September 22, at the head of 10,000 men, which he had raiſed in Cheſhire, A. D. 1459. Battle of Blore heath.

159 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 415. Stow, p. 404.
160 Id. ibid. 161 Hall, f. 90, 91.

and

A. D. 1459. and the parts adjacent, where the Lancaſtrian intereſt prevailed. The earl of Saliſbury, whoſe forces did not exceed 5000, ſupplied his want of ſtrength by a ſtratagem. The two armies being encamped on the oppoſite banks of a narrow, but deep and rapid rivulet, he drew up his archers as near the brink as poſſible, on Sunday morning, September 23, and gave them directions to diſcharge a flight of arrows againſt their enemies, and then retire in ſeeming diſorder. Lord Audley, deceived by theſe appearances, paſſed the rivulet, with his principal officers, in great haſte and little order. In this ſituation, before one half of their troops had joined them, they were attacked with great fury by their enemies, and, after a fierce conflict, defeated; the lord Audley, with 2400 of his men, remaining dead on the field [162].

orkiſts diſperſed. The earl of Saliſbury, after his victory, proceeded on his march, and joined the duke of York at Ludlow; where the earl of Warwick ſoon after arrived from Calais, with a body of choice troops, commanded, under him, by two renowned warriors, ſir Andrew Trollop and ſir John Blunt. The king, queen, and court lords, having raiſed an army, advanced to meet their enemies, and encamped at Ludiford, near Ludlow, October 13, deſigning to give battle next day. But, in the mean time, an unexpected event happened, which prevented an action, and produced one of thoſe ſudden, ſurpriſing revolutions, which were ſo fre-

[162] Stow, p. 405. Hall, f. 91. J. Wethamſtede, p. 455.

quent

quent in this period. The duke of York, in all his contests with the court, professed the greatest loyalty to the king, and carefully concealed his design to seize the crown, which was known only to a few of his special confidents. This important secret was, either by the duke himself, or some of his confidents, communicated to sir Andrew Trollop; who being really attached to the house of Lancaster, deserted to the king with the troops under his command, in the night of October 13. Several others, induced by a proclamation of pardon from the king, discovered a disposition to imitate their example, or at least to depart to their own homes. The duke of York, and his chief friends, struck with consternation, and not knowing whom to trust, determined to save themselves by flight. The duke, with his second son, the earl of Rutland, fled through Wales into Ireland. His eldest son the earl of March, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, made their escape into Devonshire, and from thence to Calais, where they landed November 2[163]. In this manner the lately-triumphant Yorkists were dispersed, and seemingly ruined, in a moment, and without a blow. A. D. 1459.

To push this unexpected advantage as far as possible, a kind of packed parliament was summoned to meet at Coventry, November 20; in which the duke of York, with his two sons, Edward earl of March and Edmund earl of Rutland, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lord Clinton, and Parliament.

163 J. Wethamstede, p. 459—462. Hall, f. 92. Hollin. p. 1297.

A. D. 1459. many knights and gentlemen, were attainted as traitors, and their eſtates confiſcated [164].

A. D. 1460. Yorkiſts return into England.

But this gale of proſperity was of ſhort duration; and another of thoſe ſurpriſing changes of fortune, which were ſo frequent in this memorable conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and give this period of our hiſtory ſo much the air of a romance, very ſoon took place. The queen, determined to deſtroy all the friends of the family of York, perſuaded the king to ſend commiſſioners into thoſe parts of the kingdom where they moſt abounded, to try and puniſh all who had been concerned in any of the late inſurrections. This excited the moſt terrible alarms, and made the people look around them for protection from impending ruin. The people of Kent, who were particularly obnoxious, ſent meſſengers to the lords at Calais, earneſtly intreating them to come over, and promiſing that the whole county would join them on their landing. Theſe lords, burning with the moſt ardent deſires to retrieve their loſſes and take vengeance on their enemies, joyfully accepted of the invitation, and landed at Sandwich with only 1500 of their followers. They were immediately joined by the lord Cobham, with 4000 well-armed troops; and ſo general was the riſing in their favour, that they entered London, July 2, with an army of 40,000 men [165].

[164] Parliament. Hiſt. v. 2. p. 283, &c. Wethamſtede, p. 462—472. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 455.

[165] J. Wethamſtede, p. 478. Stow, p. 408. Hall, f. 94.

In

A. D. 1460.

Battle of Northampton.

In the mean time, the queen, with thoſe lords and gentlemen who adhered to the houſe of Lancaſter, having collected an army at Coventry (which was then called the queen's chamber), marched towards London. But their enemies ſaved them the trouble of ſo long a march; for the earls of March and Warwick, with the lords Cobham and Bourchier, at the head of 25,000 of their beſt troops, departed from London to meet them; and the two armies came in ſight of each other, July 10, near Northampton; where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Yorkiſts obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, who commanded the royal army, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Beaumont and Egermont, with many knights and gentlemen, were killed; as the commanders on the other ſide had given particular directions to their ſoldiers to ſpare none of the nobility or gentry. The queen, with her ſon the prince of Wales, fled with only a few perſons in their company; and after ſkulking for ſome time in different places, they took ſhelter in Scotland; where they arrived in a very wretched condition, having been robbed of their money and baggage by the way [166].

The king conducted to London.

After the battle, the victorious earls found the king in his tent almoſt alone, treated him with great reſpect, and carried him in a kind of proceſſion into Northampton. Having reſted, and refreſhed their troops in that place three days, they ſet out on their return to London, entered that capital in triumph, July 16, and lodged the king in the bi-

[166] J. Wethamſtede, p. 480. Hall, f. 94. Stow, p. 409.

A.D. 1460. ſhop's-palace [167]. This conteſt ſeemed now to be at an end; the chief ſupporters of the houſe of Lancaſter being killed or taken priſoners, the queen, with her ſon, expelled the kingdom, and the weak, unhappy Henry in the hands of his enemies. But torrents of blood were yet to flow before it was determined; owing, on the one hand, to the political timidity of the duke of York, and, on the other, to the activity and undaunted ſpirit of queen Margaret.

Parliament. Immediately after the victory at Northampton, meſſengers were ſent into Ireland, to inform the duke of York of the ſucceſs of his friends, and intreat him to return to England. In the mean time, his party being in poſſeſſion of all the power of the king, as well as of his perſon, did not neglect to employ it for the benefit of themſelves and their friends; though they paid more regard to juſtice than is commonly done on ſimilar occaſions [168]. They iſſued writs in the king's name, July 30, for a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter October 7, directed to all the peers of both parties, without diſtinction, and permitted the members of the houſe of commons to be elected according to law [169]. Two days after the meeting of parliament, the duke of York reached London, rode through the city in great ſtate, alighted at Weſtminſter-hall, and went directly to the houſe of peers; where, ſtanding under the royal canopy, he laid his right hand on the cuſhion, and ſeemed to expect an in-

167 J. Wethamſtede, p. 480. Hall, f. 94. Stow, p. 409.
168 Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 459, 460. 169 Cotton Abridg. p. 665.

vitation

vitation to place himſelf in the throne. In this he A. D. 1460.
was diſappointed. A ſolemn ſilence reigned in the houſe for ſome moments. At length the archbiſhop of Canterbury aſked him, if he would go with him, and wait upon the king; to which the duke, in great agitation, replied,—"I know no "perſon to whom I owe that mark of reſpect, which "is more juſtly due to myſelf from all others;" and then hurried out of the houſe [170].

The duke of York having made this diſcovery of his deſign to claim the crown, did not affect to keep it any longer a ſecret. A few days after (October 16) he, by his counſel, gave in to both houſes a formal claim of the crown, with his pedigree on which that claim was founded, deriving his deſcent from Lionel duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. and elder brother to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, from whom Henry VI. was deſcended. This claim and pedigree (which was perfectly clear and well authenticated) was laid before the king; whoſe counſel, a few days after, preſented arguments in ſupport of his title, and objections to the claim of the duke of York; which were communicated to that prince, and anſwered in his name. This great cauſe, having been thus pleaded by the parties, was debated ſeveral days in parliament; and, as it is ſaid, with great freedom: one party ſupporting the title of the houſe of Lancaſter, on the grounds of—parliamentary ſettle-

[170] The above account of this tranſaction is taken from J. Wethamſtede, abbot of St. Alban's (who was probably preſent), and is more worthy of credit than the accounts of later hiſtorians.

A.D. 1450. ments—long poſſeſſion—and frequent oaths of fealty; the other contending for the ſuperior right of the houſe of York, as deſcended from the eldeſt branch of the royal family. After long and warm debates, the following compromiſe was propoſed, adopted, and formed into an act of parliament, November 1, viz. that Henry ſhall continue king during his life, and.—That the duke of York, or his heir, ſhall ſucceed to the crown on Henry's death. Many other ſtipulations were added, to ſecure the ſucceſs of this ſcheme [171]. But conteſts for a crown are not ſo eaſily compromiſed; and though this arrangement ſeemed to ſatisfy both, it in reality ſatisfied neither of the contending parties. The late parliament at Coventry, which had attainted the duke of York and his friends, was declared to have been no lawful parliament, and all its acts reſcinded [172].

The two roſes. The calm produced by the above compromiſe was very ſhort, and many circumſtances portended an approaching ſtorm. The whole nation was now divided into two parties; the one diſtinguiſhed by the red roſe, the badge of the houſe of Lancaſter, the other by the white roſe, the badge of the houſe of York. Two hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in thoſe unhappy times, have drawn a moſt affecting picture of the diſtracted ſtate of the country, and the violent animoſity of the two parties [173]. The chief ſtrength of the Lancaſtrian party lay in the north,

[171] Wethamſtede, p. 484, &c. Stow, p. 409.
[172] Statutes, 39 Hen. VI.
[173] Wethamſtede, p. 492. Contin. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 529.

and

and of the York party in London, the ſouth of England, and marches of Wales: though both had partizans in every corner of the kingdom, and frequently in the ſame family. A. D. 1460

The king, or rather the duke of York in his name, ſent a requiſition to the queen to return to court with her ſon prince Edward. But that princeſs had other deſigns in view. She had met with a kind reception in Scotland; the young king, James III. being nearly related to the family of Lancaſter. Many martial adventurers of that nation eſpouſed her cauſe, and ſhe was there joined by the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and other fugitives of her party; who being united formed a ſmall army, with which ſhe entered England. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, with the other barons, knights, and gentlemen of the northern counties, crowded to her ſtandard; and ſhe ſoon ſaw herſelf at the head of an army of 20,000 men; with which ſhe marched ſouthward [174]. The queen invades England.

The duke of York, receiving intelligence of this invaſion, committed the cuſtody of the king's perſon, and the guard of the city, to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick; ſent his eldeſt ſon, Edward, into the marches of Wales, to raiſe an army; and then, December 2, ſet out from London, attended by his ſecond ſon, Edmund earl of Rutland, and his friend the earl of Saliſbury, with a ſmall body of troops. He proceeded northward, Battle of Wakefield.

[174] Hall, f. 94. Hollingſh. p. 1303.

A. D. 1460. by eaſy marches, to give his friends an opportunity of joining him; and when he reached Wakefield, December 24, his army amounted to 5000 men. There he received the diſagreeable news, that the queen was approaching with an army four times the number of his; which obliged him to conduct his troops into his caſtle of Sandal, where he was beſieged. He probably deſigned to remain on the defenſive, till he was joined by his ſon the earl of March; but, either want of proviſions,—too great confidence in the courage of his troops,—or the inſults of the beſiegers, made him change his mind, and reſolve to give the enemy battle, contrary (it is ſaid) to the advice of his two great confidents, the earl of Saliſbury and ſir David Hall [175]. Accordingly he drew up his little army in order of battle, on the morning of December 30, and marched down the hill towards the enemy. The duke of Somerſet, who commanded the queen's army, had advanced the earl of Wiltſhire, with a body of troops on one wing, and the lord Clifford on the other, with orders to lie concealed till the battle began, and then to attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. The duke of York attacked the main body, commanded by the duke of Somerſet, with great fury; but was inſtantly ſurrounded, and in half an hour he and 2800 of his men were killed, and almoſt all the reſt taken priſoners [176].

A.D. 1461. The queen and her partiſans were immoderately elated with this victory, and made a cruel uſe of it,

[175] Hall. f. 98, 99. [176] Wethamſtede, p. 489. Contin. Hiſt Croyl. p. 550. Hall, f. 99. Stow p. 412.

ima-

imagining that it was deciſive. The lord Clifford murdered in cold blood, on the bridge of Wakefield, the earl of Rutland, a young prince of exquiſite beauty and great hopes. The ſame ferocious baron, having found the body of the duke of York on the field, cut off the head, put it on a ſpear, and preſented it to the queen, who commanded it, with a paper crown upon it, to be placed on the walls of York [177]. The earl of Saliſbury was taken priſoner, and, with ſeveral knights and gentlemen, ſent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, without trial, and without mercy. The queen's army conſiſted chiefly of the borderers of both nations, who had been allured to her ſtandard by the promiſe of permiſſion to plunder all the country beyond Trent. This permiſſion they now uſed, and marked their way with deſolation as they advanced ſouthward, plundering, and often burning churches, monaſteries, and private houſes, without diſtinction [178].

A. D. 1461. Cruelties of the queen's followers.

Edward earl of March was at Glouceſter when he received the melancholy tidings of his father's death, and the deſtruction of his army. Though he was much afflicted at the loſs of ſo good a parent, and ſo many friends, he was not diſpirited, but marched immediately to Shrewſbury, at the head of 23,000 men, to meet the queen and her victorious army. Here he received intelligence, that Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, uterine bro-

Battle of Mortimer's croſs.

[177] Wethamſtede, a contemporary writer, ſays the duke of York was taken alive, and beheaded on the field of battle. J. Wetham. p. 489. [178] Ibid. p. 495. Continuatio Hiſt. Croyl. p. 531.

ther

A. D. 1461. ther to king Henry, and the earls of Wiltſhire and Ormond, were following him with a conſiderable army of Welſh and Iriſh; which determined him to turn back to encounter theſe enemies in the firſt place. The two armies met, February 2, at Mortimer's croſs, near Hereford, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the earl of March, now duke of York, obtained a complete victory. The two earls made their eſcape, leaving 3800 of their men dead on the field; but ſir Owen Tudor, father to the earl of Pembroke, with ſeveral other knights and gentlemen, were taken and beheaded, according to the barbarous practice of both parties in this cruel conteſt [179].

Second battle of St. Alban's.

The queen was on her march to London when ſhe received the news of this defeat of her friends; and though ſhe was much dejected by it, ſhe determined to proceed, in hopes of getting poſſeſſion of the capital, and of the king's perſon, before the young duke of York could come to their relief. But when ſhe reached St. Alban's, ſhe found the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, with the king in their company, and a numerous army, ready to obſtruct her progreſs. On the morning of Shrove-Tueſday, February 17, the queen's troops attempted to force their way through the town of St. Alban's; but were repulſed, with conſiderable loſs, by a ſtrong body of archers poſted in the market place; which obliged them to turn up a lane, through which, after a ſharp conflict, they gained

[179] Hall, f. 109. Hollingſh. p. 1304. Stow, p. 413.

the

the open fields. Here they found the main body of the enemy ready to receive them, and a fierce action immediately commenced. The victory for ſome time remained doubtful; but the lord Lovelace, who commanded the Kentiſh men, either through cowardice or treachery, turning his back, the whole army fell into diſorder. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, knowing that immediate death would be the conſequence of their being taken, made their eſcape, and left the queen in poſſeſſion of the field. Thus three pitched battles, all of them very bloody, were fought in leſs than two months, of which we have few examples in hiſtory. A. D. 1461.

At the beginning of the battle, the king was left in his tent, under the care of the lord Bonvile, who would have made his eſcape, but was perſuaded by the king to ſtay with him, upon his royal promiſe for his ſafety. But he was beheaded after the battle, without the leaſt regard to the king's promiſe, the laws of war, or the dictates of humanity. Henry was conducted to lord Clifford's tent, where he had a tender interview with his queen and ſon. At the queen's deſire he knighted the prince of Wales, with thirty young noblemen and gentlemen, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the preceding action [180]. The queen recovers her huſband.

If the queen could have marched to London immediately after her victory at St. Alban's, ſhe might perhaps have obtained admittance. But this was The queen returns into the north.

[180] Hall, f. 100.

not

A. D. 1461. not in her power. Her troops, in oppoſition to the moſt peremptory commands, ſpent ſeveral days in plundering St. Alban's, and the adjacent country, and puſhed their ravages to the very gates of the city. This gave the citizens time to recover from their conſternation, and inſpired them with a reſolution to expoſe themſelves to any danger, rather than admit ſuch ſavage plunderers. They even ſtopped a few waggons loaded with proviſions, which the magiſtrates ſent to the queen at her deſire. Deſpairing, therefore, of gaining the capital, upon receiving intelligence that the duke of York was advancing at the head of a ſuperior army, ſhe was obliged to relinquiſh all the advantages of her victory, and retire with her army into the north [181].

Acceſſion of Edward IV. The earl of Warwick, after his defeat, collected the remains of his ſcattered troops, and joined the duke of York at Chipping Norton; which rendered the army of that prince ſuperior to that of his enemies, and encouraged him to advance with a deſign to give them battle. But finding that they had decamped, inſtead of purſuing them, he proceeded to the capital, into which he entered, February 28, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of the citizens; and on the following days, great crowds of people from Kent, Eſſex, and the neighbouring counties, came to the city to join his ſtandard. Edward wiſely determined to improve the preſent favourable opportunity. His army being muſtered

[181] J. Wethamſtede, p. 503—508. Hall, f. 100. Stow, p. 414.

in

in St. John's fields, on Sunday March 2, and a prodigious multitude of the citizens come out to view it, the lord Fauconbridge, who ſuperintended the muſter, took an opportunity to harangue the people,—on the unfitneſs of king Henry for government,—on the misfortunes of his reign,—and on his violation of the late ſolemn agreement, by attempting to deprive the duke of York of the ſucceſſion; and concluded with aſking them, if they would have Henry to reign over them any longer? on which they cried out, No! no! He then aſked them, if they would have Edward duke of York for their king? To which they anſwered in the affirmative, with the loudeſt acclamations; and ſent a deputation to Edward, to beſeech him to aſſume the government. A great council was aſſembled next day, of all the prelates, nobles, chief magiſtrates, and principal gentlemen in and about London: to which Edward, in perſon, explained his title to the crown, and inſiſted on that article of the late ſolemn agreement, by which it was ſtipulated, "That if king Henry attempted in any way "to break the ſaid agreement, the crown ſhould "immediately devolve to the duke of York or his "heirs;" and then left the council to conſider what he had repreſented. The council, after a ſhort deliberation, unanimouſly agreed, "That "Henry of Lancaſter had forfeited his right to en- "joy the crown during his life; and that it was "now devolved to Edward duke of York;" and concluded with entreating him to accept of that crown which was his undoubted right. Edward, after A. D. 1461.

A. D. 1461. after a ſhort apology for his youth and inexperience, complied with their requeſt. On Tueſday, March 4, the young king (for ſo he was now called) went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was ſung; from thence he proceeded to Weſtminſter-hall; where, being ſeated on the throne, with the ſceptre in his hand, he received the homage of the great men who were preſent. He was then conducted into the church, ſeated in the king's ſeat, and offered at the ſhrine of St. Edward [182].

Character of Henry VI.

Thus ended the inglorious unhappy reign of Henry VI. who loſt all the conqueſts of his illuſtrious father, and the hereditary dominions of his family in France, and at laſt the crown of England. His perſonal appearance was mean, his countenance melancholy and unmeaning, bearing little or no reſemblance to the handſome, ſtrong, and active Henry V. and the beautiful queen Katharine. But the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and the facility of his temper, were his moſt fatal defects; the one rendering him quite unfit for holding the reins of government himſelf, the other making him a paſſive inſtrument in the hands of thoſe by whom he was ſurrounded. In private life he was harmleſs and inoffenſive, devout (according to the mode of thoſe times), chaſte, temperate, humble in proſperity, and patient in adverſity: but the weakneſs of his underſtanding degraded all his virtues. In a word, Henry VI. was much fitter for a monk than for a monarch, and would have made a better

[182] J. Wethamſtede, p. 509—514. Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 532. Hall, f. 201. Stow, p. 415.

figure

figure in a cloiſter than in a court [183]. But that inſignificancy which loſt him his crown, ſaved his life; for when he fell into the hands of his ſucceſſor, he permitted him to live, not thinking his death neceſſary to his own ſecurity. A. D. 1461.

Henry VI. cannot be conſidered as an uſurper; and the defence which he made for himſelf, when he was accuſed of that crime in the tower, ſeems to be ſatisfactory: "My father (ſaid he) and "grandfather were kings of England; I was en-"throned when I was an infant, crowned when I "was a child, received the voluntary homage of "all my ſubjects, and enjoyed the royal authority, "unchallenged, almoſt forty years [184]." He reigned thirty-eight years and ſix months. His only child, Edward prince of Wales, was now in the ſeventh year of his age. We ſhall afterwards hear of his unhappy fate. Henry VI. no uſurper.

SECTION IV.

From the acceſſion of Edward IV. A. D. 1461, *to the acceſſion of Edward* V. A. D. 1483.

EDWARD IV. was in the bloom of youth, being hardly nineteen years of age, when he aſcended the throne of England; beautiful in his perſon, engaging in his deportment, excelling in all manly exerciſes, brave, active, and even pru- A. D. 1461. Edward marches into the north.

[183] See John Blackman, De Virtutibus Henrici VI. Apud Otterbourne et Wethamſtede, edit. Oxon. 1732 v. 1. p. 287—306.

[184] Id. ibid. p. 305.

A. D. 1461. dent beyond his years. Inſtead of ſpending his time in vain amuſements, he applied to buſineſs with ſo much ardour, that the firſt diviſion of his army, conducted by the earl of Warwick, left London, March 7; and, five days after, he followed with the reſt of his forces. On that ſame day, he gave a ſpecimen of that cruelty which afterwards ſtained his character, by ordering the execution of one Walter Walker, a grocer, for having ſpoken contemptuouſly of his title to the crown. His army increaſed as he advanced; and when he reached Pomfret, March 27, he found himſelf at the head of a gallant army, of between 40,000 and 50,000 men [r].

Battle of Towton.

Queen Margaret, and the nobles of her party, after their return into the north, had been very active in recruiting their army, which now lay at York, and amounted to 60,000 men. The duke of Somerſet was appointed commander in chief; who, leaving the king, queen, and prince of Wales, with a proper guard at York, marched out to meet the enemy, March 28. On that day, the paſs at Ferrybridge was eagerly diſputed by advanced parties of both armies; and, after two bloody ſkirmiſhes, was ſecured by the Yorkiſts, who there paſſed the river Arc. Early in the morning of Palm Sunday, March 29, theſe two mighty armies, inflamed with the moſt violent animoſity againſt one another, were drawn up in order of battle on the fields between the two villages Saxton and Towton,

[r] J. Wethamſtede, p. 515. Stow, p. 415. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 102.

about ten miles ſouth of York. Edward iſſued orders to his troops to take no priſoners, and give no quarter; nor is it improbable that the orders on the other ſide were in the ſame ſanguinary ſtrain. The action began at nine in the morning, in the midſt of a heavy ſhower of ſnow, which was blown with great violence in the faces of the Lancaſtrians, and prevented them from ſeeing the enemy diſtinctly, or judging rightly of their diſtance. The lord Fauconbridge, taking advantage of this circumſtance, commanded his archers to advance briſkly a few paces, and ſhoot their flight arrows with all their force, and then fall back. Theſe arrows, being light, reached the Lancaſtrians, and made them almoſt empty their quivers at too great a diſtance. The Yorkiſts then advanced; and, pouring in ſhowers of arrows upon their enemies, did great execution, and made them ruſh on to a cloſe engagement, with ſwords, ſpears, battle-axes, and other inſtruments of death. The conflict now became general, fierce, and bloody, and ſo continued between four and five hours, victory ſometimes ſeeming to incline to the one ſide, and ſometimes to the other. At length, towards evening, the Lancaſtrians began to recoil; and, being hard preſſed, they broke, and fled on all ſides, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. This was one of the moſt bloody battles that ever was fought in Britain. Thoſe who were employed to number and bury the dead (as we are told by a contemporary writer who lived near the ſcene of action), declared, that their number amounted to 38,000[a]. Amongſt theſe A.D. 1461.

[a] Continuat. Hiſt Croyl. p. 533.

A.D. 1461. were many perſons of rank and fortune; as the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Shrewſbury; the lords Clifford, Beaumont, Nevil, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Scales, Grey, Dacres, and Molineux; beſides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen [3]. This was the fourth pitched battle fought in leſs than three months in England, in which above 60,000 of her braveſt ſons periſhed; among whom were ſeveral princes of the blood, and many of the prime nobility.

Henry flies into Scotland. The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, when they ſaw that all was loſt, rode full ſpeed to York, attended by ſeveral lords and gentlemen; and taking with them the king, queen, and prince of Wales, fled into Scotland; and never thought themſelves ſafe till they had reached the capital of that kingdom [4].

Executions. Edward, not ſatiated with all the blood that had been ſpilt in battle, cauſed much noble blood to be ſhed on the ſcaffold. The earl of Devonſhire and ſir W. Hill, being taken in their flight, were beheaded at York, and their heads ſet up on the walls of that city; from which thoſe of the duke of York and the earl of Saliſbury were taken down. The earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire was beheaded at Newcaſtle, and ſir Thomas Fulford at Hexham [5].

Edward crowned. After celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter at York, Edward marched as far north as Newcaſtle; and

[3] Stow p. 415. J. Wethamſtede, p. 517. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 101.
[4] Holingſh. p. 1297. Leland's Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 499.
[5] Stow, p. 415.

having

having left the earl of Warwick there with a competent force, to keep that part of the country in order and ſubjection, he returned to London, June 26; and three days after he was crowned at Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnity [6]. A. D. 1461.

When Henry VI. with his family and friends, arrived in Scotland, they found that kingdom in almoſt as diſtracted a condition as that which they had left. James III. was a child of only eight years of age; the regents appointed by parliament were divided into parties; and the whole country was a ſcene of factions and family feuds. The royal and noble fugitives, however, were kindly received and entertained. Queen Margaret ſoon contracted a friendſhip with the queen-mother, Mary of Gelders, by propoſing a marriage between the prince of Wales and her eldeſt daughter, which was concluded. She alſo gained the favour of the regents, by ſurrendering to them the town and caſtle of Berwick, April 25 [7]. To counteract theſe operations of his moſt active enemy, Edward ſecretly negotiated an alliance with the potent and turbulent earl of Roſs, and lord of the iſles, June 2, and gave the earl of Warwick a commiſſion to treat with the regents of Scotland for a truce, July 18 [8]. This prevented a national declaration from Scotland in favour of the exiled family, but did not prevent many individuals of all ranks from eſpouſing their cauſe. Negotiations in Scotland.

6 Hall, Edward IV. f. 1. Holingſh. p. 1313.

7 Stow, p. 416. 8 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 474, 475.

A.D.1461. Parliament.

Edward, determined to ſecure that crown by law which he had gained by arms, iſſued writs, May 23, ſummoning a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, July 6,; but the unſettled ſtate of the country, and the dread of an invaſion from Scotland, cauſed, it to be prorogued to November 4[9]. So many of the nobility had fallen in battle or died on the ſcaffold, or had been driven into exile, that there remained only one duke, four earls, one viſcount, and twenty-nine barons, who wete ſummoned to this parliament. Henry IV. was declared to have been an uſurper; the right of Edward IV. to the crown was acknowledged and confirmed; the poſterity of Henry of Derby, commonly called Henry IV. were declared incapable of holding any eſtate or dignity in any part of the Engliſh dominions for ever; Henry VI. late king of England, Margaret late queen, Edward called prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonſhire, and Pembroke, with a prodigious number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, were attainted; the heirs of all thoſe of the York party who had been condemned as traitors by the other party when they were predominant, were reſtored to the eſtates and honours of their anceſtors; and, in a word, every thing was done the victorious prince thought fit to dictate; for which he gave them many thanks, and made them many promiſes, in a ſpeech from the throne, at the end of the ſeſſion[10].

[9] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, 1 Edw. IV.

[10] Parliament. Hiſt. vol 2. p. 311—319.

At the concluſion of this ſeſſion of parliament, in which ſo many great eſtates had been forfeited, Edward enriched his friends with the ſpoils of his enemies; and, to gratify their ambition, he raiſed ſome of them to additional honours. His eldeſt brother George was created duke of Clarence, and his youngeſt brother Richard, duke of Glouceſter; the lord Fauconbridge was made earl of Kent, lord Bourchier, earl of Eſſex, and ſir John Nevil, brother to the earl of Warwick, was made lord Montacute[11]. A. D. 1461. Rewards.

Edward was no leſs attentive to puniſh his enemies, than to reward his friends. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, with Aubray de Vere, his ſon, and ſeveral knights and gentlemen of the Lancaſtrian party, were beheaded on Tower-hill, in February A. D. 1462[12]. A. D. 1462. Puniſhments.

While Edward was thus labouring by all means to fix himſelf firmly on the throne, his moſt formidable adverſary queen Margaret was labouring with equal ardour to procure forces to pull him down. Finding that ſhe could not bring the regents of Scotland to declare war againſt Edward, ſhe, with the duke of Somerſet, and a ſmall retinue, ſailed to the continent, to ſolicit ſuccours from the king of France, and her other potent friends. Though Lewis XI. who had lately mounted the throne of France, was one of the moſt ſelfiſh unfeeling princes that ever lived, he could not refuſe a ſeemingly kind reception to ſo near a relation in ſo great diſ- Queen Margaret's voyage to France, and return.

[11] Parliament. Hiſt. p. 311—319. Hall, Edw. IV. f 1.
[12] Stow, p. 416. Holingſh. p. 1313.

A. D. 1462. treſs. But the unhappy queen, after a long and earneſt ſolicitation, at laſt diſcovered that no effectual ſuccours were to be expected from that quarter; and therefore, having obtained a loan of 20,000 livres, and a ſmall body of troops, commanded by Peter de Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, ſhe ſailed for England, and after a very ſtormy paſſage arrived off Tinmouth, about the end of this year. Being prevented from landing there, her fleet was overtaken by a ſtorm, many of the ſhips were put on ſhore near Bamburgh caſtle, and that one in which the queen ſailed got into Berwick, with great difficulty. The French troops took ſhelter in Holy Iſland, and were ſoon attacked by a ſuperior force, and the greateſt part of them killed or taken; but their commander, with ſome others, made their eſcape to Berwick [13].

A. D. 1463. Cauſe of Henry VI. deſperate. Nothing could appear more deſperate than the cauſe of Henry VI. and his family at this time. Almoſt all their powerful friends in England were either killed in battle, put to death on the ſcaffold, or attainted and baniſhed out of the kingdom. Edward was negotiating truces with the kings of France and Scotland, the only princes from whom they could expect aſſiſtance; and there was the greateſt probability that theſe negotiations would ſucceed [14]. Henry duke of Somerſet, the neareſt relation and greateſt ſupport of the houſe of Lancaſter, viewing things in this light, yielded to deſpair, and made his peace with Edward; and

13 Monſtrelet, t. 3. p. 91. Hall, Edw. IV. f. 2. Stow, p. 416.

14 Rym Fœd. tom. 11. p. 502—513.

his

his example was followed by ſir Ralph Percy, and many others[15]. In a word, Henry, his queen, and ſon, were left almoſt alone at Edinburgh, without friends, without money, and without any probable ground of hope. A.D. 1463.

But nothing could ſubdue the active undaunted ſpirit of queen Margaret. Leaving her huſband and ſon at Edinburgh, ſhe ſailed from Kircudbright, in Galloway, April 8, with four ſhips and, landing in Britanny, obtained a preſent of 12,000 crowns from that duke[16]. From thence ſhe proceeded to the court of France, where ſhe was treated with becoming reſpect, and ſtood godmother to the only ſon of the duke of Orleans, long afterwards Lewis XII[17]. Here, however, ſhe had the mortification to ſee the ambaſſadors of king Edward, who were negotiating a truce, well received, and frequently admitted to audiences. The truth is, that Margaret was a very unwelcome gueſt at the court of France; and, in order to haſten her departure, Lewis, after exacting from her an obligation to deliver up Calais as ſoon as it was in her power, privately gave her a ſmall body of troops, with which ſhe arrived ſafe in Northumberland, in the month of October, expecting that the people of that country would take up arms in her favour. But they, obſerving that ſhe had brought but a ſmall number of auxiliaries from France, in general remained quiet, which obliged her, after taking a few caſtles, to retire into Scotland, were ſhe ſpent the winter[18]. Queen Margaret's ſecond voyage to France.

15 Hall, f. 1. Stow, p. 416. 16 W. Wyrceſter, p. 493.
17 Villar, tom. 16. p. 454. 18 W. Wyrceſter, p. 493, 494.

A. D. 1463. Though England enjoyed a kind of peace during the abſence of queen Margaret, Edward ſeems to have been under continual apprehenſions of an attack both from France and Scotland. To guard againſt theſe attacks, he conſtituted ſir John Nevile, lately created viſcount Montacute, warden of the marches towards Scotland, June 1, with power to array all the men in the northern counties, between ſixteen and ſixty years of age, to repel any invaſion that might be made in thoſe parts [19]. In the beginning of Auguſt, he gave a commiſſion to the earl of Warwick to guard the ſea, with a certain number of ſhips and men, probably with an intention to intercept queen Margaret in her return [20]. When he received intelligence that ſhe had landed in the north, he came with all poſſible expedition to York; but being there informed that ſhe had retired into Scotland, he returned into the ſouth [21].

Precautions taken by Edward.

A. D. 1464. Queen Margaret, being determined to make an effort to recover the crown which ſhe had loſt, before the truce between the two Britiſh kingdoms was concluded, collected all the friends of her family who had fled into Scotland, engaged as many of the Scots as ſhe could, by the promiſe of rewards, and permiſſion to plunder, to enter into her ſervice; and joining all theſe to her French auxiliaries, formed a conſiderable army, with which, accompanied by her huſband and ſon, ſhe entered England, about the middle of April. Her affairs for

Queen Margaret invades England.

[19] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 500. [20] Id. ibid. p. 506.
[21] Id. ibid. p. 510.

ſome

ſome time wore a favourable aſpect. The caſtles of Bamburgh, Duſtanburgh, and Alnwick, were either taken by her troops, or delivered to her by their governors. The duke of Somerſet, ſir Ralph Percy, and ſeveral others who had made their peace with Edward, on hearing of the queen's ſucceſſes, flew to her ſtandard with their followers [22]. A. D. 1464.

King Edward appears to have been greatly alarmed at the defection of his pretended friends, and the ſucceſs of his declared enemies. He diſpatched the lord viſcount Montacute into the north, to raiſe his forces in thoſe parts, and obſtruct the progreſs of the enemy; and iſſued a proclamation, commanding every man in England, from ſixteen to ſixty, to be ready to attend him and march againſt his enemies at a day's warning [23]. Setting out from London, attended by a ſplendid train of nobility and a powerful army, he reached York towards the end of May [24]. Edward's fears and preparations.

The fears of king Edward, and the hopes of queen Margaret were both of ſhort duration, and the lord Montacute had the honour to diſpel the one, and to deſtroy the other. He firſt defeated and killed the brave ſir Ralph Percy at Hedgeley moor near Wooller, April 25 [25]. Having received a reinforcement from the ſouth, he advanced towards the main army of the enemy, encamped on a plain called *the Levels*, near Hexham, attacked them in their camp, and, after a long and bloody Battles of Hedgeley moor and Hexham.

22 Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2. Stow, p. 417.
23 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 524.
24 Id. ibid. p. 524.
25 Hall, f. 2. Ed. IV.

ſtruggle,

A.D.1464. ſtruggle, obtained a complete victory, May 15[26]. King Henry made his eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and was conducted into the county of Lancaſter, where he was kindly entertained, and long concealed, by the friends of his family[27]. As a reward for this deciſive victory, the lord Montacute was immediately after created earl of Northumberland, and obtained a grant of the forfeited eſtates of the Percy family[28].

The queen and prince, &c. eſcape. Queen Margaret, with her ſon prince Edward, eſcaped from this fatal battle, but purſued a different route from king Henry, and were received into Bamburgh caſtle by ſir Ralph Gray[29]. From thence they ſoon after embarked, with the duke of Exeter, ſir John Forteſcue, the famous lawyer, chancellor to king Henry, ſome ladies, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of about two hundred, and arrived ſafe at Sluis in Flanders. After viſiting the earl of Charolois, deſcended by his mother from the houſe of Lancaſter, ſhe proceeded

[26] Hall, f. 2. Ed. IV. W. Wyrceſter, p. 498. [27] Hall, f. 2.
[28] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 524.
[29] If the ſtrange adventure mentioned by Monſtrelet, the French hiſtorian of thoſe times, ever happened to queen Margaret and her ſon, it was moſt probably in their flight from this battle. That writer relates, that the queen and her ſon, flying from a battle alone, were bewildered in a wood, and fell among a gang of robbers, who plundered them of their money, jewels, and every thing valuable; that the robbers quarrelling and fighting about the diviſion of their booty, the queen and prince fled, but ſoon after met with another robber, to whom the queen preſented the prince, ſaying, "Behold, my friend, the ſon of your king, I commit him "to your protection;" with which the robber was ſo much affected, that he conducted them to the ſea-coaſt, from whence they ſailed. Monſt. tom. 3. p. 96.

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to the court of his father Philip, the good duke of Burgundy, the moſt magnificent prince of his age. Though Philip had long been on ill terms with her and her family, he received the diſconſolate queen with the greateſt tenderneſs, entertained her and her friends in the moſt ſplendid manner, and having made her many valuable preſents, he ſent her, under a proper guard, into Lorrain, where ſhe ſettled, with her ſon and principal followers, in a caſtle given her, with the eſtate annexed to it, by her father Renie, duke of Anjou, and titular king of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem [30]. A. D. 1464.

The battle of Hexham was very fatal to the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter. Beſides thoſe who fell in the action, many of them loſt their lives on the ſcaffold. Henry duke of Somerſet was taken, and beheaded the day after, at Hexham, with four others: William Taylbois, earl of Kyme, Thomas lord Roos, Robert lord Hungerford, aand ſir Thomas Fynderne, were taken a few days after the battle, and beheaded at Newcaſtle; and twelve knights and gentlemen were carried to York, and there executed [31]. Many of the fugitives had taken ſhelter in the caſtle of Bamburgh, which was beſieged by the earls of Warwick and Northumberland. The garriſon capitulated in July, and the governor, ſir Ralph Gray, was beheaded at Doncaſter [32]. Executions.

[30] W. Wyrceſter, p. 497. Monſtrelet, tom. 3. p. 96.
[31] W. Wyrceſter, p. 498.
[32] Id. p. 499.

To

A. D. 1464. To complete Edward's good fortune, all the caſtles in the north were reduced in the courſe of this ſummer; and a long truce of fifteen years with Scotland was concluded, at York, June 1, by which the king of Scots engaged to give no aid or protection to king Henry, his queen, or ſon, or any of their adherents [33]. Edward, having thus reduced the north to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, returned into the ſouth, by ſlow journeys, ſpending the laſt months of this year at different places by the way [34].

Truce with Scotland.

Edward declares his marriage.

In that interval of tranquillity which Edward enjoyed when queen Margaret was at the court of France, he formed a connection which involved himſelf, his family, and his ſubjects, in many calamities. Being young and amorous, he was captivated by the charms of Elizabeth Widville, widow of ſir John Grey of Groby, and daughter of Jaqueline de Luxemburgh, ducheſs of Bedford, by her ſecond huſband, Richard Widville, lord Rivers. Having tried all the arts of ſeduction in vain, he was prompted by the violence of his paſſion to marry her privately, at Grafton, May 1, A. D. 1463 [35]. Conſcious of the imprudence of this ſtep, he kept it a profound ſecret during the troubles which enſued. Theſe troubles being now over, Edward thought it a proper time to diſcover the important ſecret: which he did, at Reading,

[33] N'colſon's Border-Laws, p. 26. Rym Fœd. tom. 11. p. 525.
[34] Id. ibid. p. 541—538.
[35] Fragment. ad finem Sproti Chron. p. 293. Fabian, vol. 2. f. 216.

Septem-

September 29, this year, when Eliſabeth was led to the abbey church of that place, by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, and there declared queen of England, and received the compliments of all the great men who were preſent [36]. The part acted by the earl of Warwick in this ſolemnity makes it very improbable that he had been employed in negotiating a marriage between Edward and the princeſs Bona, ſiſter to the queen of France, and that he was enraged at the king for not completing that marriage; though this is aſſerted by many of our hiſtorians, both ancient and modern [37]. A. D. 1464.

Favours heaped on the queen's relations.

The inconveniency of the marriage of a ſovereign with one of his own ſubjects ſoon appeared on this occaſion. The court was immediately crowded with the queen's relations, who ingroſſed the royal favour, and obtained every thing their avarice or ambition prompted them to deſire. The queen's father was created earl Rivers, appointed treaſurer of the exchequer, and conſtable of England;—her eldeſt brother, Anthony, was married to the only daughter of Thomas lord Scales, with whom he obtained that title and a great eſtate;—John, another of her brothers, married the old ducheſs of Norfolk, a lady of immenſe fortune;—the daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, the king's niece, was given in marriage to ſir Thomas Grey, one of the queen's ſons by her

[36] W. Wyrceſter, p. 500.
[37] Hall, Ed. IV. f. 5. Stow, p. 418. Habington, p. 437. Holingſh. p. 677. Grafton, p. 665. Polyd. Virg. p. 513. Hume, vol. 2. p. 393. edit. 1762.

former

A. D. 1464. former huſband;—five of her ſiſters were in a ſhort time married to the heirs of five of the greateſt families in England [38]. Such a prodigious flow of proſperity could hardly fail to render this favourite family a little inſolent, and to draw upon them the envy and indignation of thoſe from whom they intercepted the ſmiles and bounty of their ſovereign. But theſe paſſions did not appear immediately, nor produce any fatal effect for ſome time.

A. D. 1465. Negotiations. Secure on the ſide of Scotland by the late truce for fifteen years, Edward laboured to procure ſimilar ſecurity from the princes on the continent, that the Lancaſtrians might not receive aid from any quarter, to enable them to diſturb his government. With this view, he ſent the great earl of Warwick, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, in the ſpring of this year, to negotiate treaties of peace, or truces, with the earl of Charolois, the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny, and the king of France, who had all diſcovered ſome compaſſion for the exiled family. But the ambaſſadors found all theſe princes ſo keenly engaged in the war called the *Public-good*, that they had little leiſure to attend to negotiations; which is probably the reaſons that the commiſſions to the ſame ambaſſadors were renewed the ſucceeding year, when ſhort truces were concluded [39].

Coronation of the queen. In the mean time Edward was employed at home in preparing for the coronation of his beloved conſort. In honour of that ſolemnity, he made no

[38] Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 231. W. Wyrceſter. p. 501—506. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 581.

[39] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 540—543. p. 562—568. W. Wyrceſter, p. 503, 504.

fewer

fewer than thirty-ſeven knights of the Bath, on Thurſday May 23; among whom were ſeveral of the chief nobility. On Friday the queen was met at Shooters-hill by the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, nobly mounted, and richly dreſſed, and conducted to the Tower; from whence, on Saturday, ſhe was carried in a horſe-litter, preceded by the new-made knights, to Weſtminſter, where ſhe was crowned on Sunday, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the uſual ceremonies [40]. After the coronation, magnificent tournaments were held at Weſtminſter ſeveral days. A. D. 1465.

The unhappy Henry VI. after ſuffering many hardſhips in his concealment, among the friends of his family, in the counties of Weſtmoreland and Lancaſter, was betrayed by a monk, and apprehended by ſir James Harington, as he ſat at dinner in Waddington-hall, one day in the month of July. Sir James, with the aſſiſtance of ſome friends, conducted the captive king to London: for which ſervice he received a grant of the forfeited eſtates of ſir Richard Tunſtell [41]. Henry was met at Iſlington by his greateſt enemy, the earl of Warwick, who commanded his feet to be tied to the ſtirrups, and in other reſpects treated him with great indignity [42]; a ſufficient proof that the earl had as yet no intention of quarrelling with Edward, or of raiſing Henry again to the throne. In this diſgraceful poſture the fallen monarch was con- Henry VI. taken.

[40] W. [illegible], p. 501—503.
[41] [illegible] 1. p. 548. W. Wyrceſter, p. 504.
[42] [illegible]

ducted

A.D. 1465. ducted through the ſtreets of London, after a proclamation had been made, that no perſon ſhould ſhew him any marks of compaſſion or reſpect. When the proceſſion reached Tower-hill, he was compelled to ride three times round the pillory, and then lodged in the Tower, where he was treated with a degree of contempt and cruelty which to a generous ſpirit would have been worſe than death [43].

Magnificent feaſt. George Nevile, chancellor of England, and brother to the earl of Warwick, had been tranſlated, in the ſummer of this year, from the ſee of Exeter to that of York, and was enthroned in September, with aſtoniſhing expence and pomp. The duke of Glouceſter, the king's brother, and almoſt all the nobility, biſhops, and great men of the kingdom, were preſent at the magnificent feaſt on that occaſion, except the queen's relations; which ſeems to indicate that a coolneſs had now commenced between them and the family of the Neviles, to whom Edward owed his crown [44].

A. D. 1466. Princeſs Eliſabeth born. But this coolneſs had not come to a great height, nor was there as yet any appearance of an open breach between Edward and his powerful benefactors. For the earl of Warwick had the honour to ſtand godfather to the princeſs Eliſabeth, of whom the queen was delivered, February 11, at Weſtminſter: the ducheſſes of York and Bedford, the two grandmothers of the royal infant, were the godmothers [45].

[43] Monſtrelet, tom. 3. p. 119.
[44] Leland's Collectanea, vol. 6. p. 2—14.
[45] W. Wyrceſter, p. 505.

While

A. D. 1466. Diſtreſs of the Lancaſtrians.

While Edward enjoyed the greateſt proſperity, and his court was a ſcene of inceſſant triumph and feſtivity, thoſe unhappy noblemen who had followed the fortunes of the houſe of Lancaſter were reduced to great diſtreſs. Philip de Comines, a writer of undoubted credit, aſſerts, that he had ſeen Henry Holland duke of Exeter walking on foot without ſhoes, and begging his bread from houſe to houſe: a ſtrange reverſe of fortune for one of the firſt princes of the blood of England, huſband to the eldeſt ſiſter of the reigning king! The duke of Somerſet, and ſeveral other great men (as the ſame author tells us), were in greater miſery than common beggars. The duke of Burgundy, when informed of their diſtreſs, ſettled ſmall penſions upon them barely ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence [46].

A. D. 1467. Attacks on the family of the Neviles.

The ſecret jealouſy and mutual diſlike which had early taken place between the queen's relations and the powerful family of the Neviles, gradually increaſed, and now began to appear openly. The Widviles viewed the immenſe wealth, prodigious power, and extenſive influence of the three brothers, Richard earl of Warwick and Saliſbury, John earl of Northumberland, and George archbiſhop of York, and chancellor of England, with jealouſy and terror, and ardently deſired to diminiſh their wealth, power, and influence, in order to increaſe their own. By degrees they prevailed upon Edward to enter into their views; and a reſolution was formed to bring down the Neviles from that towering pitch of greatneſs to which they had attained.

46 Memoires de Comines, edit. Bruſſelle, tom. 1. p. 185.

A.D. 1467. In conſequence of this reſolution, the king went to the archbiſhop of York's houſe, where that prelate was confined by ſickneſs, June 8, and demanded the ſeals, which he received, and ſoon after delivered to the biſhop of Bath and Wells [47]. In a parliament that was then ſitting at Weſtminſter, an act was paſſed, empowering the king to reſume the eſtates he had given away (with ſome exceptions) ſince his acceſſion to the throne [48]. This act (it is ſaid) was chiefly intended againſt the Neviles, who had obtained grants of ſeveral forfeited eſtates, as a reward for their ſervices in raiſing the king to the throne. The king immediately reſumed two manors, which he had granted to the archbiſhop of York; but abſtained from the further execution of that act againſt the family for ſome time.

Negotiations of Warwick.

While theſe ungenerous attacks were made upon his friends and family, the earl of Warwick was abſent on an embaſſy at the court of France [49]. He was received at that court (then at Rouen) with all the honours that could have been paid the greateſt monarch. The artful Lewis, who ardently deſired an union with the king of England againſt his mortal enemy the earl of Charolois, to whom he knew Warwick was no friend, met him ſeven leagues from Rouen, conducted him into that city, with a ſolemn proceſſion of all the clergy, June 7, entertained him twelve days in the moſt ſplendid manner, and made him the moſt magnifi-

47 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 578.
48 Parliament Hiſt. v. 2. p. 309. W. Wyrceſter, p. 508.
49 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 578.

cent preſents [50]. After concluding a truce for eighteen months, the earl returned to England, and arrived in London, July 5, the day on which the parliament was diſſolved [51]. He was followed into England by the archbiſhop of Narbon and the baſtard of Bourbon, who made Edward the moſt tempting offers to engage him to form an alliance with the court of France [52]. But theſe offers came too late, and were rejected. A. D. 1467.

Philip duke of Burgundy and his ſon Charles earl of Charolois, earneſtly deſired to form a confederacy with England againſt France. In order to accompliſh this, they ſent the baſtard of Burgundy, in the beginning of June, to the court of England, under the pretence of performing certain feats of arms with Anthony lord Scales, the queen's brother, but in reality to propoſe a marriage between the earl of Charolois and the lady Margaret king Edward's ſiſter. Nothing could be more pleaſing to Edward than this propoſal, as it procured an honourable ſettlement to a beloved ſiſter, deprived the houſe of Lancaſter of its chief ſupport, and ſecured a powerful confederate to himſelf in proſecuting his claims in France. Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides to ſettle the terms of the marriage; and in the mean time Philip duke of Burgundy died, and Charles ſucceeded to all his vaſt dominions [53]. This event made an alliance with that prince ſtill more deſirable.

50 Continuat. of Monſtrelet, p. 23. 51 W. Wyrceſter, p. 510.
52 Id. ibid. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 583.
53 Monſtrelet, tom. 3. p. 120. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 530.

A. D. 1467. The Neviles discontented.

The earl of Warwick, ſoon after his return from France, went into the north, in ſome degree of diſcontent, which was not diminiſhed by his converſations with his two brothers, particularly with the archbiſhop of York. It is not however, probable, that either the earl or his brothers as yet entertained any thoughts of pulling down Edward, and reſtoring Henry VI. to the throne.

Marriage and peace with Burgundy.

All preliminaries having been ſettled by the commiſſioners, the marriage of the lady Margaret with Charles duke of Burgundy was finally agreed to by Edward in a great council held at Kingſton upon Thames, October 1, to be celebrated as ſoon as a diſpenſation could be obtained from the pope. But that proved more difficult than was expected (owing to the influence of the king of France at the court of Rome), and retarded the marriage more than ſix months [54]. At the ſame time, a treaty of peace, or rather a long truce of thirty years, was concluded between Edward and his future brother-in-law [55]. The king, queen, and court, made a progreſs northward, and celebrated the feaſt of Chriſtmas at Coventry [56].

A. D. 1468. Reconciliation

While the court remained at Coventry, a kind of reconciliation was made between the queen's relations and the Nevile family, by the interpoſition of ſome common friends. The archbiſhop of York had a meeting with earl Rivers, the queen's father, at Nottingham, in which all preliminaries were ſettled; and the earl of Warwick attended

[54] W. Wyrceſter, p. 511. [55] Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 591.
[56] W. Wyrceſter, p. 512.

a great

a great council at Coventry, in January, when he was publicly reconciled to the lords Herbet, Stafford, and Audley, who had married the queen's ſiſters. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the part the archbiſhop had acted in this affair, that he reſtored the two manors he had taken from him[57]. But it is probable this reconciliation was not very cordial; it is certain it was not very laſting. A. D. 1468.

No king of England had ever taken ſo much pains to ſecure the friendſhip of foreign princes as Edward IV. Beſides the long truce with Scotland, he contracted alliances with the kings of Arragon, Caſtile, and Denmark, and with the two potent dukes of Burgundy and Britanny[58]. In this policy he had theſe two ends in view—to prevent the houſe of Lancaſter from receiving aid from any of thoſe princes—and to procure their aſſiſtance in an attempt he intended to make for the recovery of the Engliſh dominions in France. He communicated this intention to a parliament at Weſtminſter, in May, and it met with the hearty approbation of that aſſembly, which granted no leſs than two tenths and two fifteenths, to enable him to execute his deſign[59]. But internal commotions ſoon diverted all thoughts of foreign conqueſts. Intended invaſion of France.

All the preliminaries of the marriage of the lady Margaret with the duke of Burgundy being fully ſettled, ſhe rode through the ſtreets of London behind the earl of Warwick, June 18; embarked at Margate, July 1; arrived next day at Slui- Marriage.

[57] W. Wyrceſter, p. 512. 513.
[58] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 622—606. 631.
[59] Paul. Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 332.

A. D. 1463. and was married with great solemnity, at Dam, July 9[60].

Trials

Riding before the lady Margaret in that proceſſion was not the only mark of reſpect and confidence that Edward conferred on the earl of Warwick about this time. Several gentlemen having been apprehended, and accuſed of correſponding with queen Margaret, the king granted a commiſſion to his own two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, with the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Northumberland, his brother, to ſit in judgment upon them at Guildhall in July. The two earls acted with great zeal in the execution of this commiſſion; and very unjuſtifiable methods were uſed to procure evidence againſt the priſoners; of whom ſome were condemned and executed[61]. This ſeems to afford a ſufficient proof that Edward did not as yet ſuſpect Warwick or his brother of diſſaffection.

A. D. 1469. Duke of Clarence married.

George duke of Clarence had long been diſcontented. He thought himſelf neglected by the king his brother, and imputed that neglect to the influence of the queen's relations, againſt whom he entertained the moſt violent animoſity. Their common hatred of the ſame perſons naturally produced an intercourſe and communication of councils between Clarence and the earl of Warwick; and this intercourſe gradually improved into an intimate union of intereſts, which was at laſt cemented by a marriage between the duke and the lady Iſabella, the eldeſt of the earl's two daughters, and

[60] Stow. p. 421. [61] W. Wyrceſter, p. 515.

one

one of the heireſſes of his great eſtate. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp, at Calais, July 11, by the archbiſhop of York [62]. A. D. 1469.

In the mean time a dangerous inſurrection of the farmers and common people took place in Yorkſhire; occaſioned by the officers of the hoſpital of St Leonard's at York violently exacting certain quantities of corn, which the farmers refuſed to pay. Many of our hiſtorians inſinuate, that this inſurrection was raiſed by the emiſſaries of the Nevile family; but this is very improbable, as it was certainly oppoſed by one of the heads of that family. For when the inſurgents amounted to 15,000 men, and approached the gates of York, John Nevile, earl of Northumberland, raiſing a body of his braveſt followers, attacked and defeated them, took their leader, called Robin of Redſdale, and beheaded him on the field. The approach of night prevented any purſuit [63]. Inſurrection in Yorkſhire.

But though the inſurgents were defeated, they were not diſperſed; and they ſoon found leaders of greater abilities, and higher rank, than Robin of Redſdale. Theſe were, ſir Henry Nevile and ſir John Coniers; who, leaving the neigbourhood of York, directed their march ſouthward. As ſoon as Edward heard of this inſurrection, he ſent the lord Herbert, lately created earl of Pembroke, and the lord Stafford, created earl of Devon, at the head of a conſiderable army, to meet and encounter the enemy. When the two earls, with their forces, arrived at Banbury, they quarrelled Battle of Banbury.

62 Hall, Ed. IV. f. 9. Stow, p. 421.

63 Hall, f. 11.

A.D. 1469. ſo violently about their lodgings, that the earl of Devon withdrew the troops under his command; and the earl of Pembroke, with his diviſion of the army, conſiſting chiefly of Welſhmen, was defeated by the inſurgents at Edgecote in Northamptonſhire, about three miles from Banbury, July 26[64]. The victors (as was uſual in thoſe times) ſtained their laurels with much blood which they ſhed after the battle. The earl of Pembroke, his brother ſir Richard Herbert, and ten other gentlemen, were beheaded on the field. Richard earl Rivers, the queen's father, and ſir John Widvile, her brother, being taken in the foreſt of Dean, were carried to Northampton, and put to death on a ſcaffold, without any trial[65].

Warwick in favour with Edward.

It was reported (ſays a contemporary writer), that theſe things were done by the conſent of the earl of Warwick; and this, which was then only a vague report, had been adopted by many hiſtorians as an undoubted truth[66]. There is the cleareſt evidence, that king Edward himſelf entertained no ſuch ſuſpicion; for he conſtituted the earl of Warwick, Auguſt 17, chief juſticiary of South Wales, and gave him ſeveral other offices of power and truſt, which had been held by his favourite the late earl of Pembroke; which he certainly would not have done, if he had ſuſpected that Warwick had any connection with rebels who had murdered his own father and brother in-law[67].

64 Fragment. ad finem Sproti Chron. p. 300. Stow, p. 422.
65 Stow, p. 422. Hall. f. 13. 66 Fragment. p. 301.
67 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 647.

But

A.D. 1469.

But though Edward, at that time placed great confidence in the attachment of the earl of Warwick, that confidence did not continue much longer. For he granted a commiſſion to John duke of Norfolk, John duke of Suffolk, and Anthony late lord Scales, now earl Rivers, dated at Weſtminſter, 16th November this year, to array all the men capable of bearing arms in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, againſt the duke of Clarence and other rebels, who had conſpired to deliver king Henry [68]. The immediate cauſe of this violent rupture between king Edward and his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick, is not certainly known, ſome aſſigning one cauſe and ſome another, and none of them very probable. It is only certain, that the royal brothers had long been diſſatisfied with each other's conduct; and when they were in that ſtate of mind, a ſmall ſpark might raiſe a mighty flame.

Rupture between Edward and his brother Clarence.

Henry Percy, ſon and heir to the earl of Northumberland who was ſlain in the fatal battle of Towton, had been from that time kept a priſoner in the Tower of London, while John Nevile, brother to the earl of Warwick, enjoyed his title and eſtate. Edward (it is ſaid) cauſed ſecret hints to be conveyed to the friends of the Percy family, to preſent petitions to him for the reſtoration of their impriſoned chief to his liberty, and the eſtates and honours of his anceſtors. In conſequence of theſe petitions, young Henry was ſet at liberty, October 27, and ſoon after reſtored to the earldom of Northumberland [69]. The loſs of ſo much power

Percy family reſtored.

[68] Rym. Fœd. tom 11. p. 649. [69] Id. ibid. p. 648.

and

A. D. 1469. and wealth at once could not but be very diſagreeable to the Nevile family; and this might be one cauſe of their diſcovering their diſaffection to Edward at this time.

A. D. 1470. Reconciliation between the king and Clarence. But as the ſeaſon was too for advanced for military operations, conciliating meaſures were adopted by the court. John Nevile, who had been deprived of the title of earl of Northumberland, was raiſed to the higher title of Marquis of Montague; and his eldeſt ſon, George, was created duke of Bedford, January 5, and flattered with the hopes of obtaining the princeſs Elizabeth, the king's eldeſt daughter, in marriage [70]. In a word, the reconciliation between the court and the family of the Neviles, in the beginning of this memorable year, was, in appearance at leaſt, ſo complete, that Edward granted a commiſſion, at Waltham Abbey, March 7, to the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, to array all the men able to bear arms in the county of Worceſter, and to conduct them to the army the king was raiſing againſt certain rebels [71].

Rebellion. The rebels mentioned in this commiſſion were commanded by ſir Robert Wells, eldeſt ſon of Richard lord Wells, and other gentlemen of Lincolnſhire. They drove ſir Robert Burgh, who held a place in the king's houſehold, out of the county, demoliſhed his caſtle, plundered his eſtate, and declared for king Henry. This inſurrection was probably a part of that plan which the duke

[70] Dugdale Baron. vol. 1. p. 238.
[71] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 652.

of

of Clarence and the earl of Warwick had formed for their own defence, againſt the indignation of Edward, when he denounced them rebels; and it had broke out before they had an opportunity of acquainting the leaders of it with their reconciliation to the court. Edward ſent for Richard lord Wells with a ſolemn promiſe for his ſafety; and directed him to write to his ſon, commanding him to lay down his arms. Not truſting to the ſucceſs of this ſcheme, he raiſed an army, with which he marched northward, carrying with him the lord Wells [72]. A.D. 1470.

Before Edward ſet out on this march, he paid a viſit to George Nevile archbiſhop of York, at his houſe of Moor-park; and when waſhing before ſupper, he received private notice from John Ratcliff, one of his attendants, that 100 men at arms were ready to ſeize his perſon [73]. Alarmed at this notice, he went ſuddenly out of the houſe, mounted his horſe, and rode off full ſpeed to Windſor [74]. Plot.

Not only the archbiſhop of York, but alſo the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, were enraged at this abrupt retreat of the king, as indicating a rooted diſtruſt, and reflecting highly upon their honour. They immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to ſir Robert Wells, entreating him not to lay down his arms, and promiſing to join Clarence and Warwick collect their forces.

[72] Stow, p. 422. Polyd. Virgil, p. 518. [73] Fragment. p. 502.

[74] This ſeems to have given riſe to that romantic incredible tale related by almoſt all our hiſtorians,—that Edward was at this time taken priſoner by Warwick, and ſent to his caſtle of Middleham in Yorkſhire, from which he made his eſcape, through the too great indulgence of the archbiſhop of York, his keeper.

him

A.D. 1470. him with a powerful reinforcement as ſoon as poſſible; and in order to perform that promiſe, the duke and earl ſet out for Warwick to collect their forces [75].

Inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

But all their ſchemes were ruined by the raſhneſs of ſir Robert Wells. When Edward with his army reached Stamford, and found that ſir Robert was ſtill in arms, and paid no regard to the commands of his father, he was ſo incenſed, that, forgetting his promiſe, he commanded his father, the lord Wells, to be beheaded. A baſe and barbarous action! which rendered the ſon ſo impatient for revenge, that, without waiting for Warwick, he gave the king battle, was defeated, taken priſoner, and ſoon after beheaded at Stamford, with ſir Thomas Dimmock, and ſome other leaders of the inſurgents. The unhappy ſufferers acknowledged, in their laſt moments, that they had been encouraged to perſiſt in their rebellion by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, which gave Edward full information of their defection [76].

Clarence and Warwick revolt.

When the duke and earl, who were then at Warwick, heard of the defeat of their friends at Stamford, they marched with the ſmall number of troops they had raiſed in a few days, into Lancaſhire (ſpreading as they proceeded the moſt inflammatory reports againſt Edward), in hopes that Thomas lord Stanley, who had married the earl's ſiſter, would join them in their revolt; which he refuſed to do. They then intended to march into York-

[75] Clauſ. 10 Ed. IV. apud Carte, vol. 2. p. 780.
[76] Id. ibid. Contin. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 553.

ſhire,

ſhire, where they had many friends. But they were ſoon informed, that Edward, with his victorious army, was already at York, and had publiſhed from thence, March 20, a ſevere proclamation againſt the ſpreaders of falſe reports[77]. From the ſame place he publiſhed, March 24, a long declaration, acquainting his ſubjects with the treaſonable deſigns of which his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick were accuſed; and that he had ſummoned them, by a herald, to appear before him, March 28, to anſwer to theſe accuſations, under the pain of being declared traitors. As they did not appear, they were accordingly proclaimed rebels, at Nottingham, March 31[78]. A.D.1470.

Clarence and Warwick refuſed admittance into Calais.

Deſpairing to raiſe an army in the north, Clarence and Warwick retired, or rather fled, into the weſt, in order to make their eſcape to the continent; and Edward purſued them with ſo much ardour, that he marched from Nottingham to Exeter in fifteen days[79]. The fugitives, having procured a ſufficient number of ſhips, embarked, about the ſame time, at Dartmouth, with their families and moſt attached friends, directing their courſe towards Calais, of which Warwick was governor, and where they intended to take ſhelter. But there they met with an unexpected repulſe from Vaucler, to whom Warwick had given the government of the place in his abſence. That ungrateful adventurer pointed his guns againſt his bene-

[77] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 657.
[78] Clauſ. 10 Ed. IV. apud Carte, p. 780.
[79] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 656.

factor,

A. D. 1470. factor, and would not permit him, or any of his company, to land; not even the ducheſs of Clarence, who fell in labour, and was delivered of a ſon on ſhip-board. Vaucler, by a confidential meſſenger, adviſed Warwick to retire into France, and wait for better times; aſſuring him, that he had refuſed him admittance into Calais, becauſe he could not have afforded him protection; but that, when an opportunity offered, he would convince him that he had not forgotten his favours. Whatever were the real intentions of Vaucler, his conduct was ſo agreeable to Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a penſion of 1000 crowns a-year; on which he took a ſolemn oath to be faithful to Edward againſt all the world [80].

At the court of France.

Warwick, believing, or pretending to believe, Vaucler's profeſſions, took his advice; and having ſeized a fleet of Flemiſh ſhips in his paſſage, arrived, in May, at Honfleur in Normandy. There he found the baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France, who received and treated the illuſtrious exiles in the moſt polite and friendly manner. Having provided the beſt accommodations for the ladies and their attendants, at Valongis, he conducted the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, with Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, earl of Oxford (who had alſo eſcaped from England), to the court of France, which was then at Amboiſe. Lewis XI. who had long dreaded the

[80] Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 188, 189.

intimate

intimate union of king Edward with his two moſt formidable enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny, received them with the greateſt joy, and immediately entered on buſineſs [81]. A.D. 1470.

When Warwick firſt formed the deſign of dethroning Edward, he had no thoughts of reſtoring Henry VI. but intended to raiſe his own ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, to the throne. Of this he was accuſed by Edward, in his long declaration publiſhed at York, March 24; and it was generally known and believed in England [82]. But he ſoon found that this was impracticable, being equally diſagreeable to the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians. He was now therefore under the neceſſity of adopting the plan propoſed by the king of France, which was to reſtore king Henry; in which he was certain of the aſſiſtance of all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, of all the diſcontented Yorkiſts, and of the French monarch. To engage him more heartily in this deſign, ſo contrary to all his former principles and paſſions, it was propoſed, that Edward prince of Wales ſhould marry his youngeſt daughter, the lady Ann; that he ſhould be regent of the kingdom during the reign of Henry and the minority of Edward; and that if Edward died without iſſue, Clarence ſhould ſucceed to the throne [83]. Plan for reſtoring Henry VI.

When all theſe arrangements were ſettled, meſſengers were ſent to conduct Margaret of Anjou, Marriage of Edward prince of Wales.

[81] Contin. Monſtrelet, f. 34. Philip de Comines, l. 3. ch. 5. p. 190.
[82] Clauſ. 10 Edward IV. apud Carte, vol. 2. p. 780.
[83] Contin. Monſtrelet, f. 34. Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 191.

queen

A. D. 1470. queen of England, and her ſon Edward prince of Wales, from their reſidence in Lorrain (where they had lived ſeveral years in great obſcurity), to the court of France. Though no two perſons in the world perhaps ever hated each other more heartily than queen Margaret and the earl of Warwick, yet their ambition, their intereſt, and their need of each other's aſſiſtance, engaged them to ſuppreſs, or at leaſt to conceal, their hatred on this occaſion. Margaret agreed to all the arrangements propoſed; the marriage of the prince of Wales and the lady Ann Nevile was celebrated to the apparent ſatisfaction of all concerned; an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was concluded between king Henry and the king of France; and every thing agreed upon was confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths of all parties [84].

Duke of Clarence diſcontented.

The ſatisfaction, however, diſcovered on this occaſion was not ſo great as it appeared. The duke of Clarence was ſecretly diſcontented; nor was his ducheſs pleaſed with the proſpect of ſeeing her younger ſiſter upon a throne, when ſhe was to remain a ſubject. Edward found means to increaſe their diſcontents, by ſending over to them a lady who had formerly belonged to the ducheſs, and had been her boſom friend and confident. This female politician (whoſe name is not preſerved in hiſtory) paſſed through Calais, and had the dexterity to deceive Vaucler (the moſt artful man of this age of deceit and artifice), by diſcovering his ſecret at-

[84] Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 191.

tachment

tachment to Warwick, and concealing the deſign of her own journey. She arrived ſafe at the court of France, and was admitted, without ſuſpicion, to the duke and ducheſs of Clarence; to whom ſhe repreſented the folly and danger of their preſent conduct in ſuch ſtrong colours, that the duke ſent her back to his brother, with aſſurances, that he would embrace the firſt opportunity of returning to his allegiance[85]. A. D. 1470.

King Edward, after the flight of Clarence and Warwick, diſbanded his army, and abandoned himſelf to hunting, feaſting, and other ſenſual indulgences, to which he was much addicted. The duke of Burgundy, who knew what was tranſacting in the court of France, endeavoured to rouſe him from his ſecurity, and gave him frequent warnings of an approaching ſtorm. But his love of pleaſure, and the ſtrong aſſurances given him by the archbiſhop of York and the marquis of Montague, the earl of Warwick's brothers, of their inviolable attachment to him againſt all the world, prevented his regarding theſe warnings[86]. Edward's ſecurity.

The king of France having furniſhed the Engliſh exiles with ſome ſtout ſhips, a body of troops, and a conſiderable ſum of money, they embarked at Honfleur, and landed at Dartmouth, September 13, about five months after their departure from the ſame place. They had kept up a correſpondence with their friends in England; and ſo many of theſe joined them ſoon after their landing, that they com- Clarence and Warwick return to England.

85 Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p 193. 86 Id ibid.

A. D. 1470. poſed a formidable army, with which they advanced towards the capital, diſperſing a manifeſto, commanding all the ſubjects who were capable of bearing arms, to join them, in order to dethrone the tyrant Edward (as they called him), and reſtore king Henry to the throne [87].

King Edward expelled.

King Edward was in the north, ſuppreſſing ſome commotions, of which we have no diſtinct account, when he received the news of this landing; at which he rejoiced, or pretended to rejoice; and ſent a meſſage to the duke of Burgundy to guard the ſeas, to prevent the earl of Warwick's eſcape. But he ſoon found reaſon to change his ſentiments, or at leaſt his language. He appointed his forces to aſſemble at Nottingham, and waited in that neighbourhood, expecting a powerful reinforcement under his friend the marquis of Montague, who was then at York. But when that nobleman came within ten miles of Edward's quarters, at the head of 6000 men on whom he could depend, he diſcovered his deſign of declaring for king Henry; and that deſign was ſo agreeable to his followers (who had formerly been Lancaſtrians), that they made the air ring with crying, "Long live king "Henry!" The news of this unexpected event were communicated to king Edward by one of his minſtrels, and confirmed by other meſſengers. His firſt thought was, to draw out his forces, and bravely meet his enemies. But lord Haſtings ſoon convinced him, that he could not depend on the fide-

[87] Stow, p. 422.

lity

lity of his own troops, and that he had no other part to take but to attempt an eſcape to the continent. In conſequence of this advice, the king, with his brother the duke of Glouceſter, earl Rivers, and ſeven or eight other noblemen, and a ſmall body of his moſt faithful followers, inſtantly mounted, and rode to Biſhop's-Lynne in Norfolk, embarked on board three ſhips they found in that port, and put to ſea, October 3. After a very narrow eſcape from a fleet belonging to the Hanſe towns, then at enmity with the Engliſh, he landed near Alcmar in Friezeland, without as much money in his pocket as could pay his paſſage [88]. In this manner, a mighty king was expelled from his dominions, in a few days, without one ſtroke of a ſword, or one drop of blood! But this was the age of ſudden, ſurpriſing revolutions. A. D. 1470.

Warwick was on his way into the north with his army, when he received the agreeable tidings of king Edward's flight; on which he immediately marched to London, into which he entered in triumph, October 5. Next day he relieved Henry from his tedious impriſonment in the Tower, proclaimed him lawful king, and conducted him with great pomp through the ſtreets of London to the biſhop's palace, where he reſided till the 13th when he went in ſolemn proceſſion, with the crown on his head, attended by his prelates, nobles, and great men, to St. Paul's, to return thanks to God for his reſtoration [89]. King Henry reſtored.

[88] Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 554. Stow, p. 422, Hall, f. 20 Leland Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 533.

[89] Stow, p. 422.

A D. 1470. Prince Edward born.

Queen Eliſabeth, dreading what was to happen, had retired privately from the Tower, in the night of October 1, with the young princeſſes, her daughters, and a few faithful friends, and taken ſhelter in the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter. In this melancholy abode ſhe was delivered of her eldeſt ſon, the unfortunate Edward V. on November 4[90].

Effects of the revolution on the continent.

When the report of this great revolution in England reached the continent, it occaſioned the greateſt joy in the court of France, and no leſs dejection in the court of Burgundy. By the king's command, ſolemn proceſſions of all the clergy and principal laity were made for three days, in Paris, and all the great towns of France, to thank God and the Virgin Mary for having reſtored Henry of Lancaſter to the throne of England. The exiled queen and her ſon the prince of Wales, who had lived ſeveral years neglected and almoſt fogotten, were received into Paris with as ſplendid and expenſive triumphs as it was poſſible to exhibit[91]. On the other hand, Charles duke of Burgundy, though naturally bold, was ſtruck with conſternation, becauſe he was already at war with France, and had now reaſon to apprehend an immediate attack from England. To prevent this, if poſſible, he ſent his confidential ſervant, Philip de Comines, to Vauclair, governor of Calais, whom he believed to be his friend. But when Comines arrived at Calais, he found Vauclair and his garriſon wearing the enſigns of the earl of Warwick, and declaring loudly for

[90] Stow, p. 422. [91] Continuat. Monſtrelet, f. 35.

king Henry, and a war with Burgundy. He found means, however, by the interpoſition of the Engliſh merchants of the ſtaple, whoſe chief trade was with the great manufacturing towns in Flanders, to prevent an immediate rupture [92]. The duke of Burgundy was alſo much perplexed about the manner in which he was to behave to the exiled monarch. To abandon him in his diſtreſs, he knew would be diſhonourable; to aſſiſt him openly, would be dangerous. He therefore purſued a middle courſe, by aſſiſting him in private, and in public rejecting all his applications for aſſiſtance [93]. A. D. 1470.

The earl of Warwick was now at the head of affairs in England, and took the moſt likely ſteps to ſecure his power. To keep the duke of Clarence ſteady, he loaded him with favours, giving him a ſhare in the regency of the kingdom, appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and granting him all the eſtates of the family of York [94]. He took the office of admiral to himſelf, and appointed his brother, the marquis of Montague, warden of the marches [95]. In a word, he turned all the friends of king Edward out of their offices, and filled them with his own friends [96]. To give a legal ſanction to the whole, he ſummoned a parliament, which did whatever he was pleaſed to dictate. By this parliament, all attainders againſt king Henry's friends were repealed, and they were reſtored to their eſtates and honours;—king Edward and A. D. 1471. Steps taken by the earl of Warwick.

92 Philip de Comines, l. 3. c. 6. p. 201—204.
93 Id. ibid. p. 205.
94 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 693.
95 Id. ibid. p. 665. 679.
96 Id. ibid. p. 661—665.

A. D. 1471. all his partizans were attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated;—the crown was ſettled on Edward prince of Wales, and his iſſue, and failing them, on the duke of Clarence, and his iſſue [97]. But even the wiſeſt meaſures are not always ſucceſsful.

The queen, &c. detained on the continent. Queen Margaret, her ſon Edward prince of Wales, with the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and ſeveral others who had lived long in exile, ardently deſired to return to England, to reſume their former ſtations; but were unfortunately detained on the continent, during all this winter, by contrary winds and ſtorms [98].

Edward returns to England. The duke of Burgundy was ſtill in terror of being cruſhed between the two powerful monarchies of France and England. To prevent this, he encouraged king Edward to make an attempt for the recovery of his crown, and privately aſſiſted him with men, money, and ſhips [99]. All things being ready, he embarked, with about 2000 men at the ree port of Vere in Zealand; from whence he ſailed, March 11, and landed at Ravenſpur on the 14th of the ſame month [100]. At his landing he met with a cold reception, and even ſome oppoſition, from the country-people, headed by one Weſterdale, a prieſt [101]. To quiet their minds, and excite their pity, he pretended that he had relinquiſhed all thoughts of claiming the crown, and came only to recover the eſtates of his family. To convince them of his ſincerity in this, he wore an oſtrich

97 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 334.
98 Fabian, an. 1471.
99 Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 206.
100 Holinſh. p. 1327.
101 Stow, p. 423.

feather, the enſign of prince Edward in his hat, and commanded his followers to cry, king Henry! wherever they came. When he approached York, he found the gates ſhut againſt him, and could not obtain admittance till he had taken a ſolemn oath before the mayor and aldermen, that he did not intend to claim the crown [102]. A. D. 1471.

The earl of Warwick ſeems to have had pretty good intelligence of the motions and deſigns of king Edward when he was in Holland. So early as the 21ſt of December, A. D. 1470, a commiſſion was given to the marquis of Montague to arm all the men in the five northern counties, to repel an invaſion expected in thoſe parts; and on the 28th of the ſame month, a ſimilar commiſſion was granted for all the reſt of the kingdom, to the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, and ſir John Scroop [103]. In the month of January this year, the earl of Warwick was conſtituted admiral of England, and, with the duke of Clarence and earl of Pembroke, had a commiſſion to array the men in Wales [104]. But we know not diſtinctly what progreſs theſe commiſſioners had made in the execution of their commiſſions, when Edward actually landed. Warwick's preparations.

After king Edward had refreſhed his followers a few days at York, he marched out, directing his route ſouthward. No ſituation could appear more dangerous, or even deſperate, than that in which Edward was at this time. The marquis of Mont- Edward marches, and aſſumes the name of king.

[102] Holingſh. p. 102.
[103] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 676, 677.
[104] Id. ibid. p. 679, 680.

A.D. 1471. ague was at Pomfret with an army ſuperior to his, and could eaſily have ſtopped his progreſs. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, each at the head of a powerful army, were marching from the ſouth to meet and oppoſe him. But, to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, the marquis of Montague permitted him to paſs without any interruption. The real cauſe of this myſterious conduct will never be known with certainty; but, among the various conjectures that have been made concerning it, this ſeems to be the moſt probable,—that the duke of Clarence had ſent him orders not to fight till he had joined him [105]. When Edward reached Nottingham, the lord Stanley, ſir Thomas Parre, ſir James Harrington, ſir Thomas Montgomery, and ſeveral other gentlemen, brought him reinforcements [106]. Being now at the head of a reſpectable army, he threw off the maſk; and, in direct violation of the ſolemn oath he had taken a few days before at the high altar in the cathedral of York, he aſſumed the name of king [107].

Clarence joins his brother king Edward.

The earls of Warwick and Oxford having united their forces at Coventry, expected every day to be joined by the duke of Clarence and his army, which would have enabled them to put an effectual ſtop to Edward's further progreſs. But that prince put them off with promiſes and excuſes. In the mean time Edward, advancing boldly, reached Coventry, March 29, and offered the earls battle; which they declined [108]. The duke of Clarence

[105] Stow, p. 423. [106] Holingſh. p. 1329. [107] Hall, f. 26.
[108] Holingſh. p. 1329.

was

was now at hand, and was viſited by his brother Richard duke of Glouceſter, who came to his camp, with a few attendants, and without any paſſport. The two brothers flew into each other's embraces; and, after a ſhort converſation, Clarence, having prepared the chief men of his army before, declared for his brother Edward; and the two armies, which ſeemed to be at the point of engaging in a bloody battle, united in the moſt friendly manner [109]. The important ſecret, which had encouraged Edward to advance in the face of ſo many dangers, was now diſcovered; and this great revolution, the cauſe of one ſtill greater which ſoon followed, was owing to the intrigues of an artful woman, of whoſe name we are not informed. A.D. 1471.

King Edward marcheſto London.

Clarence was not aſhamed to ſend an intimation to his father-in-law, of his defection, and the violation of his moſt ſolemn engagements, and to offer his good offices to bring about a peace between him and Edward. This offer was rejected with diſdain by the enraged earl, who knew that, after what had happened, no cordial reconciliation ever could take place. Edward then called a council of war, to deliberate whether he ſhould attack the earl of Warwick in his camp, or march directly to London. This laſt meaſure was adopted, and carried into execution; and he reached Weſtminſter on Monday, April 9. Though he found the gates ſhut againſt him, he had a powerful party in the city, with

[109] Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 554. Hall, f. 26. Stow, p. 423.

whom

A.D. 1471. whom he correſponded and co-operated; and they ſoon procured his admiſſion, without the uſe of force. All the ſanctuaries in London and Weſtminſter were crowded with his friends, to the number of 2000 perſons; among whom were 400 knights and gentlemen, who now exerted all their influence in his favour. Many rich merchants, to whom he owed great ſums of money, ardently deſired his reſtoration; and the city-ladies in general were his fond admirers and warmeſt advocates. He even found means either to corrupt or intimidate the archbiſhop of York, to whom his brother Warwick had committed the care of the city, and of king Henry's perſon; and, with the conſent of that prelate, he was admitted, on Thurſday, April 11, by a poſtern, into the biſhop's palace, where he found his helpleſs rival, and immediately ſent him to the Tower[110].

Battle of Barnet. As ſoon as Warwick was joined by his brother the marquis of Montague, he ſet on his march after Edward, in hopes of finding and attacking him without the walls of London. But when he arrived at St. Alban's, on Friday, April 12, he received the diſagreeable news, that his enemies were in poſſeſſion of the capital. Determined to fight them even there, he advanced to Barnet on Saturday; and Edward having marched from London on the ſame day, the two armies encamped ſo near each other in the evening, that neither of them

[110] Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 554. Stow, p. 423. Holingſh. p. 1331. Philip de Comines, l. 3. c. 7. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 709.

enjoyed

enjoyed much repoſe during the night. By day-break on Eaſter-Sunday, April 14, both armies were drawn out and immediately ruſhed into action with uncommon fury. This battle, which both parties believed would be deciſive, was long, fierce, and bloody, victory ſeeming ſometimes to incline to the one ſide, and ſometimes to the other. At length the earl of Warwick's troops were thrown into diſorder, by an unhappy miſtake, occaſioned by a miſt, raiſed (as it was then believed) by friar Bungy, a reputed magician. The brave earl of Oxford, whoſe device on his ſoldier's coats, both before and behind, was a ſtar with rays, had beat his opponents off the field, and was returning to aſſiſt his friends, when his troops were attacked by the earl of Warwick's men, who believed them to be a body of the enemy, whoſe device was a ſun with rays. Oxford, aſtoniſhed at that attack, and apprehending that ſome fatal treachery (then ſo common) had taken place, fled, with 800 of his followers; which threw all into confuſion. The earl of Warwick, in order to revive the courage of his troops, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, where he fell covered with wounds; and his brother the marquis of Montague attempting to relieve him, ſhared the ſame fate. Thus periſhed Richard Nevile, the ſtout earl of Warwick, commonly called *the King-maker*, and with him periſhed the proſperity of his family, and the power of his party. As ſoon as his death was known, his army diſperſed, and left Edward a complete victory [111]. The duke

A. D. 1471.

[111] Contin. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 555. Hall, Ed. V. f. 29.

of

A. D. 1471. of Exeter was grievouſly wounded, and left for dead on the field, but afterwards taken up, and conveyed ſecretly into the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter. The duke of Somerſet and earl of Oxford fled into Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke, who was there raiſing troops.

The queen and prince land in England. It will be difficult to find in hiſtory ſuch a ſucceſſion of untoward events as attended the houſe of Lancaſter in this ſtruggle to retain the crown of England. Queen Margaret and prince Edward, whoſe preſence would have been a great encouragement to their partizans, had been detained all the winter on the continent; and after they embarked, March 4, they were toſſed about in the channel no leſs than three weeks, and did not land at Weymouth till the evening of that fatal day on which the battle of Barnet had been fought [112]. The queen, who knew not what had lately happened in England, imagined ſhe had nothing now to do, but to march in triumph to the capital, and take poſſeſſion of her former dignity. How great was her conſternation then, when ſhe received the diſmal tidings of the defeat at Barnet, the death of Warwick and his brother, the captivity of her huſband, and the diſperſion of all her friends! On this occaſion, all her fortitude forſook her; ſhe ſunk to the ground, and fainted away; from which ſtate ſhe was not without great difficulty recovered. When ſhe revived, yielding to deſpair, ſhe fled with her ſon to a ſanctuary in the abbey of Beau-

[112] Holingſh. p. 1331, 1336.

lieu,

lieu[113]. Her firſt deſign was, to make her eſcape, A. D. 1471. with her ſon and friends, to France. But, in a day or two, ſeeing herſelf ſurrounded by the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Oxford and Devonſhire, the lord Wenlock, the lord John Beaufort, and many knights and gentlemen, her ſpirits and her hopes revived, and ſhe conſented to ſtay and make another attempt; but pleaded earneſtly to be allowed to ſend away the prince, to which they would not agree. The queen, the prince, and princeſs of Wales, with a few attendants, were eſcorted to Bath, and the noblemen and gentlemen ſeparated to collect their forces; which they did with ſo much ſucceſs, that in about ten days they brought together an army (it is ſaid) of 40,000 men. With this army they propoſed to march into Wales, to join the earl of Pembroke, and from thence into Cheſhire, to ſtrengthen it with a body of archers; which would have made it very formidable[114].

But king Edward was too active to allow them time to execute this plan. He ſet out from London, April 19, and proceeded weſtward by ſlow marches, to give his forces from different parts an opportunity of joining him by the way. Arriving at Tewkſbury, May 3, he found the enemy encamped on the banks of the Severn, near that place. Next morning he took a view of the intrenchments they had made about their camp in the preceding night, and determined to attack them immediately. Battle of Tewkeſbury.

[113] Hall, f. 30. [114] Holingſh. p. 336.

They

A. D. 1471. They ſuſtained the firſt attack with great bravery; but the duke of Somerſet, with the front line, having raſhly ventured without the intrenchments, were beat back with great ſlaughter; the enemy entered the camp with them, and threw all into confuſion. The earl of Devonſhire, lord Wenlock, lord John Beaufort, with a conſiderable number of knights and eſquires, and about 3000 common ſoldiers of the queen's army, were killed. The queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of Somerſet, the lord St. John, with many knights and gentlemen, were taken priſoners. The queen, who had cauſed and ſuffered ſo many calamities, was committed to the Tower; where ſhe endured a long and comfortleſs confinement. The prince of Wales, having been brought into the king's preſence, and aſked by him, with a ſtern countenance, how he had dared to come into his kingdom in arms, boldly replied, "I came to recover my father's kingdom." Edward was ſo much irritated by this reply, that he had the baſeneſs to ſmite the prince on the face with his gauntlet; and his attendants inſtantly diſpatched the helpleſs victim with many wounds. Whether the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter imbrued their hands in the blood of this unhappy prince, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, is uncertain; but there ſeems to be no doubt that they were preſent at that horrid ſcene, and afforded him no protection. On Monday, May 6, the duke of Somerſet, the lord St. John, and fourteen knights and gentlemen, were beheaded at Tewkſbury; and many others,

others, ſoon after, ſhared the ſame fate in other places [115]. A. D. 1471.

This was the twelfth battle that had been fought in the fatal quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter; and in theſe battles, and on the ſcaffold, above ſixty princes of the royal family, above one half of the nobles and principal gentlemen, and above one hundred thouſand of the common people of England, loſt their lives [116]. The battle of Tewkſbury was the moſt deciſive, and (if we except a few ſhort commotions) ſecured the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown, during the reign of Edward IV. to the houſe of York, by the almoſt total extinction of the rival houſe of Lancaſter. Battle of Tewkſbury deciſive.

King Edward entered London in triumph, May 21, and next morning Henry VI. was found dead in the Tower. The manner of his death muſt for ever remain a ſecret, though it ſeems to have been the general opinion at the time, that it was violent. "I "think it prudent (writes a contemporary hiſtorian) "to ſay nothing of the death of Henry VI. May "God grant time for repentance to the perſon, "whoever he was, who laid his ſacrilegious hands "on the Lord's anointed [117]!" The hiſtorians of the next age, who were not under the ſame reſtraint, make no ſcruple to name the duke of Glouceſter as the author, if not the perpetrator, of this act of cruelty [118]. While his ſon, the prince of Death of Henry VI.

[115] Hall, f. 32. Stow, p. 424. Holingſh. p. 1340, 1341.
[116] Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 57. 185, 186.
[117] Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 556.
[118] Stow, p. 424. Hall, f. 33.

Wales,

A.D. 1471. Wales, lived, the life or death of Henry was of little conſequence, but after the death of that prince the caſe was changed.

Edward rewards his friends and puniſhes his enemies.

King Edward ſpent the ſummer of this year in beſtowing rewards and honours on his friends and in puniſhing his enemies with death, impriſonment, or heavy fines [119]. A few of theſe laſt ſaved themſelves by flying into foreign countries. The earl of Oxford made his eſcape into France. The earl of Pembroke, with his nephew Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond (the only remaining hope of the houſe of Lancaſter), embarked at Tynby, intending to purſue the ſame courſe; but were driven, by contrary winds, into Britanny, where they were hoſpitably entertained, but at the ſame time carefully guarded, by duke Francis II. who was in alliance with king Edward againſt their common enemy the king of France [120]. Edward, having created his infant ſon of the ſame name prince of Wales, ſummoned a great council of prelates, peers, and a few knights, who met at Weſtminſter, July 3, and took a ſolemn oath to maintain the ſucceſſion of the young prince to the crown of England. Richard duke of Glouceſter was the ſecond temporal peer who took this oath [121]. To gain the affections of the clergy, he pardoned ſeveral biſhops who had been engaged againſt him in the late conteſt [122]. To give a legal ſanction to the whole, he ſummoned a parliament, which met October 6, and attainted the perſons, and confiſ-

[119] Stow. p. 424. [120] Hall, f. 33. Stow, p. 425. Holingſh. p. 1345. [121] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 714. [122] Id. ibid. p. 715.

cated

cated the eſtates, of as many of his enemies as he pleaſed [123]. A.D. 1471.

The laſt memorable and very active year was ſucceeded by a calm of ſeveral years duration, which happily afford few materials for that part of hiſtory which is the ſubject of this chapter. This calm was hardly diſturbed by a feeble attempt of the earl of Oxford. That unfortunate nobleman having returned into England with a few followers, ſurpriſed St. Michael's-Mount in Cornwall, and defended it for ſome time with great bravery; but was obliged to capitulate, February 15, and was impriſoned in the caſtle of Hammes, near Calais, where he remained no leſs than twelve years. His great eſtate was confiſcated; and his counteſs, ſiſter to the late earl of Warwick, reduced to the neceſſity of earning a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by her needle [124]. Though Edward had granted a full pardon to George Nevile, archbiſhop of York, he now commanded him to be apprehended, accuſed him of having correſponded with the earl of Oxford, ſent him priſoner to the caſtle of Guines, and ſeized all his effects and revenues [125]. A.D. 1472 and A.D. 1473. A calm.

Though Edward enjoyed great proſperity at this time, it was not unmixed with ſome diſquiets. A violent animoſity took place between his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, which gave him much uneaſineſs. Glouceſter propoſed to marry the lady Ann Nevile, relict of the late prince of Wales, and one of the coheireſſes of Edward's diſquiets.

[123] Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 557.
[124] Stow p. 426. Hall, f. 35. [125] Id. ibid.

A.D. 1472, and A.D. 1473. the immenſe eſtates of the late earl of Warwick. Clarence, who had married her elder ſiſter, determined, if poſſible, to prevent that marriage, in order to retain the whole ſucceſſion. With this view he ſecreted the lady ſo carefully, that for ſeveral months ſhe could not be found. At length, however, ſhe was diſcovered in London, in the dreſs of a cook-maid, and placed in the ſanctuary of St. Martin's. The two dukes pleaded their own cauſe before the king in council with much warmth and acrimony; and it was not without great difficulty that a ſeeming reconciliation was brought about, by allotting certain eſtates to Glouceſter on his marriage with the lady Ann, and allowing Clarence to retain the greateſt part of the diſputed ſucceſſion[126]. Edward's mind was alſo haunted with continual fears of the earl of Richmond, on whom he knew all the ſecret friends of the houſe of Lancaſter had fixed their eyes; and he made the moſt tempting offers to the duke of Britanny to prevail upon him to deliver that helpleſs victim into his hands. But theſe offers were all rejected[127].

A.D. 1473. Treaties, &c. Edward, in this interval of tranquillity, employed himſelf in ſecuring allies and amaſſing treaſures. He ſettled all his diſputes with the Hanſe towns, which were then very powerful—confirmed the long truce with Scotland—renewed his alliances with the kings of Portugal and Denmark—and entered into ſtricter connections with the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny[128]. From his parliament, in both

[126] Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl p. 556. [127] Stow, p. 426. Hall, f. 35. [128] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 738—791.

theſe

theſe years, he obtained very large ſupplies; and got ſtill greater ſums of money in another way, which is thus deſcribed by a contemporary hiſtorian: "A new method of raiſing money was introduced at this time, called *a benevolence* or *free gift*, by which every one gave the king what he pleaſed, or, to ſpeak more properly, what he did not pleaſe. By this means greater ſums of money were collected than had ever been ſeen before, or will ever be ſeen hereafter[129]. This monk did not poſſeſs the gift of prophecy. A. D. 1473.

Internal peace had not long been reſtored in England, when the people began to caſt their eyes toward the continent, and to think of recovering the loſſes, and wiping off the diſgraces they had there ſuſtained in the preceding reign. Edward hated Lewis XI, for the aſſiſtance he had already given, and feared him for that he might ſtill give, to the houſe of Lancaſter; and knowing the animoſity of his ſubjects againſt the French, he reſolved upon an expedition into France. The occaſion was moſt inviting, and ſeemed to promiſe certain ſucceſs. The two powerful dukes of Burgundy and Britanny were open enemies to Lewis; the conſtable of France, and ſeveral of the greateſt lords of that kingdom, were ſecretly diſaffected; and all theſe earneſtly ſolicited Edward to come over with an army, and promiſed him their aſſiſtance. He ſpent this year, and the beginning of the next, in making preparations, for that expedition. A. D. 1474. Edward prepares for an expedition into France.

[129] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 340-343. Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 558.

A.D. 1474. He negotiated treaties with the emperor, and Ferdinand king of Sicily, to procure the aſſiſtance of theſe princes againſt France—prolonged the truce with Scotland to A.D. 1515—concluded a marriage between the prince of Scotland, and his then youngeſt daughter, the princeſs Cecilia—ſettled, by five different treaties with the duke of Burgundy, all particulars reſpecting the conqueſt and partition of France—and provided troops, arms, ammunition, ſhips, and every thing neceſſary [130].

A.D. 1475. Edward demands the crown of France. At length, his preparations being completed, Edward embarked at Sandwich, about the end of June or beginning of July, and ſoon after landed at Calais, attended by one of the fineſt armies that had ever paſſed from Britain to the continent. He immediately diſpatched a herald, to defy the king of France, and demand the ſurrender of his crown and kingdom. That prince was now in the moſt imminent danger; from which nothing could have delivered him but the infatuation of his enemies, and his own admirable policy. Inſtead of returning an irritating anſwer to the proud defiance he had received, he took the herald into his cloſet, and in a familiar converſation, told him, that he had the higheſt reſpect for the king of England, who, he knew, had been induced to undertake that expedition by the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable of France, who would certainly abandon him as ſoon as their own purpoſes were anſwered. He gave him, with his own hand, 300 crowns, and

130 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 804—843.

promiſed him 1000 more, if he contributed to bring about a peace. The herald (who was a native of Normandy) gained by the condecenſion and liberality of ſo great a king, promiſed to promote his views to the utmoſt of his power; and adviſed him to addreſs all his meſſages on the ſubject of peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence with Edward, and were not fond of the preſent expedition. The king then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Comines, with a charge to ſend him away as ſoon and as well pleaſed as poſſible [131]. A. D. 1475.

When Edward landed at Calais, he expected to be joined by the duke of Burgundy at the head of a powerful army. But that impetuous, imprudent prince had almoſt ruined his army, by an unſucceſsful expedition into Germany, and came to the Engliſh camp, attended only by a ſlender retinue. To pacify Edward, who was greatly chagrined at this diſappointment, he aſſured him that the earl of St. Pol, conſtable of France, would ſurrender to him the ſtrong town of St. Quintin. But when the Engliſh army approached that place, the conſtable (who had ſpent his whole life in deceiving all the world, friends as well as enemies) fired upon them from the ramparts, and killed a conſiderable number of them by a ſally. The duke of Burgundy, who was ſtill in the Engliſh army, being neither able to account for this conduct of the conſtable, nor to bear the bitter reproaches of the king of England, Edward diſappointed.

[131] Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 5.

A.D. 1475. departed abruptly, and left that prince in a violent rage againſt his allies, and almoſt ſick of his expedition [132].

Truce with France.

Edward was in this temper of mind when his herald returned, with the report of the pacific diſpoſitions of the king of France. This report was very agreeable to many of the Engliſh nobility, and not diſpleaſing to the king; and the artful Lewis employed ſeveral methods to increaſe their deſire of peace, and their diſſatisfaction with their allies [133]. In a word, Edward held a council in his camp, near Peronne, Auguſt 13, in which it was reſolved to negotiate a truce with the French king, for theſe three reaſons: "—the poverty of the army—the "near approach of winter—and the ſmall aſſiſtance "of his allies;" and a commiſſion was given to the lord Howard, with three others, to manage that negotiation [134]. Theſe plenipotentiaries met with no difficulties; and a truce for ſeven years was concluded in the Engliſh camp near Amiens, Auguſt 29, on their own terms; which were theſe—that the king of France ſhall pay to the king of England 75,000 crowns within fifteen days—that he ſhall pay him alſo 50,000 crowns a-year in London, during their joint lives—that the dauphin of France ſhall marry the princeſs Eliſabeth of England—and that Edward ſhall return with his whole army into his own country, as ſoon as he hath received the 75,000 crowns. In this truce, all the

[132] Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 6. p. 155. Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 7. p. 14.

[133] See Villar, tom. 18.

[134] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12.

allies

allies of both kings who chose to accede to it were comprehended [135]. Lewis at the same time agreed to pay to Edward 50,000 crowns, as the ransom of Margaret of Anjou, queen dowager of England; in consequence of which, that unhappy princess was set at liberty, and returned to her family and native country [136]. A. D. 1475.

Every thing being thus amicably adjusted between the two kings, they had a personal interview on the bridge over the Somme, at Pequini, August 29. At this interview, both Edward and Lewis swore to the observation of the treaties, with each one hand on the gospels, and the other on a piece of the true cross; after which they conversed together for some time in the most friendly and familiar manner [137]. Interview at Pequini.

Lewis XI. in the course of these negotiations, not only corrupted the English plenipotentiaries, but all the other English ministers, by his caresses, bribes, and pensions. Nor was there so much as one amongst them who had the spirit or virtue to reject his offers. Besides what he gave them in money, plate, and other presents, the pensions he settled upon them amounted to 16,000 crowns a-year [138]. To keep the English army in good humour, he sent them a present of 300 cart-loads of wine, and entertained all the English who visited Amiens, where he resided, in the most hospitable manner [139]. Lewis corrupts the English ministers.

[135] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 15—21.
[136] Id. ibid.
[137] Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch 10.
[138] Id. ibid. p. 287.
[139] Id. ibid. p 289.

A. D. 1475. Edward returns to England.

But though Lewis did every thing in his power to pleaſe the Engliſh while they remained in France, there was nothing he ſo ardently deſired as their departure. To forward this, he inſtantly paid the money ſtipulated by the treaty; and Edward having received it, embarked with his army at Calais, and arrived in England, September 28 [140].

Thus ended an expedition, which had been the reſult of many negotiations, of long, expenſive preparations, and threatned Lewis XI. with the loſs of his crown and diſmemberment of his kingdom, without having made, or ſo much as attempted to make, the ſmalleſt conqueſt. In this manner Lewis, by his cool and prudent conduct, with his perfect knowledge of the paſſions and foibles of his antagoniſts, diſſolved one of the moſt formidable confederacies that was ever formed againſt France, without ſhedding one drop of blood; and at the ſame time gained ſo great an influence in the councils of his enemies, that they were never able to give him the leaſt diſturbance. While he was, by a long train of curious contrivances, conducting the ſeveral members of this confederacy to the point to which he wiſhed to bring them, he made them the ſubjects of his ridicule among his conſidents; but carefully abſtained from ſuch diſcourſe in mixed company [141].

The Engliſh diſcontented.

Though king Edward, who was now become exceſſively fond of pleaſure, eaſe, and money, and was proud of the match he had made for his eldeſt

[140] Stow, p. 428.

[141] Comines, tom. 1. p. 303.

daughter,

daughter, and his miniſters, who had been bribed and penſioned by the king of France, were pleaſed with the concluſion of this expedition; the people of England in general, and many martial adventurers in particular, were diſcontented. But their murmurs were not much regarded [142]. A.D.1475.

Edward, after his return from France, indulged his paſſions, and ſpent much of his time in feaſting, gallantry, and the faſhionable amuſements of the times. His avarice, which daily increaſed, prompted him to employ a great variety of methods, ſome of them very oppreſſive, and others of them very unſuitable to the dignity of his ſtation, to fill his coffers [143]. But though he plundered his ſubjects himſelf with very little ceremony, he was remarkably ſevere in puniſhing private plunderers and robbers, who were very numerous after the army was diſbanded [144]. To keep Edward in this line of life, and prevent his interfering in the affairs of the continent, the king of France was punctual in the payment of the 50,000 crowns a-year ſtipulated by the late treaty, and no leſs punctual in the payment of their penſions to Edward's miniſters [145]. A. D. 1476. Edward indulges his paſſions.

Though Edward was ſo much devoted to his pleaſures, he was not perfectly eaſy in his mind. Henry earl of Richmond was ſtill alive, and out of his reach, and might one day diſpute the throne with him or his poſterity. He reſolved therefore to make an attempt to get him into his hands. With this view he ſent an embaſſy to the duke of Edward attempts to get the earl of Richmond into his hands.

142 Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl, p. 559. 143 Id. ibid.
144 Id. ibid. 145 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 30. 45.

Britanny,

A. D. 1476. Britanny, to renew the treaty of alliance, and to prevail upon that prince to give up the earl of Richmond, and his uncle the earl of Pembroke. The ambaſſadors, it is ſaid, were furniſhed with a large ſum of money, and inſtructed to aſſure the duke, that Edward intended to marry the earl of Richmond to one of his own daughters, and thereby to put an end to the fatal quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. The treaties of alliance were renewed, and the duke was at length prevailed upon to deliver the two earls to the ambaſſadors, to be conducted into England. But before they embarked at St. Maloes, the duke, beginning to doubt the ſincerity of Edward's promiſes, ſent his favourite, Peter Landois, who recovered the two earls out of the hands of the ambaſſadors, and placed them in a ſanctuary. But, to give the king of England all poſſible ſatisfaction, the duke engaged to guard the two earls with ſo much care, that they ſhould never give him any trouble [146]. What Edward's real intentions were cannot be certainly known; though all our hiſtorians, without heſitation, pronounce them to have been of the moſt criminal and ſanguinary nature.

A. D. 1477. Deaths. The duke of Burgundy, and the earl of St. Pol, conſtable of France, Edward's two principal allies in the late confederacy againſt Lewis, did not long ſurvive the diſſolution of that confederacy. The conſtable paid the forfeit of all his dark intrigues,

[146] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 37. Hall, f. 48, 49. Hollinſh. p. 1349. Stow, p. 427.

by

by being beheaded at Paris, 19th December, A. D. 1475; and the duke of Burgundy, after loſing two battles againſt the Swiſs, loſt his life in a third againſt the duke of Lorraine, 5th January A. D. 1477 [147]. This brave, but raſh imprudent prince, left his only daughter, Maria of Burgundy, heireſs of his dominions and of his misfortunes, which were both very great. A. D. 1477.

Edward ſtill continued to be exceedingly ſuſpicious, and puniſhed the ſlighteſt appearances of diſaffection to his perſon and government with great ſeverity. Two gentlemen, Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickſhire, and John Stacy, a learned clergyman, fell victims to this cruel ſuſpicious ſpirit. In the courſe of this year, the former of theſe was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, for an angry expreſſion, which at preſent would be a ſubject of laughter, rather than of puniſhment; the latter was tried and put to death for the imaginary crime of necromancy [148]. Executions.

But this ſpirit ſoon produced a more tragical ſcene, and hurried on king Edward to an unnatural act of cruelty, which in the end proved fatal to his own family. No cordial friendſhip had ever ſubſiſted between the duke of Clarence and the queen's relations, who, by their influence with the king, produced a coolneſs between him and Clarence, which gradually increaſed into a moſt rancorous animoſity, by unfriendly offices on the one ſide, and too ſtrong expreſſions of reſentment on Clarence diſcontented.

[147] Comines, l. 4. c. 12. l. 5. c. 1. 4. 8.
[148] Stow, p. 430. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 561.

the

A. D. 1477. the other. The duke had become a widower, by the death of his ducheſs Iſabella, 22d December A. D. 1476; and Charles duke of Burgundy being killed in leſs than a fortnight after, his only daughter became the greateſt heireſs in the world. Clarence, who wanted not ambition, naturally turned his eyes towards this rich ſucceſſion, and applied to his ſiſter Margaret ducheſs dowager of Burgundy to promote his views. That princeſs, who loved him better than any of her other two brothers, warmly eſpouſed his cauſe, and every thing wore a promiſing aſpect. But Edward, who ought to have promoted this ſcheme with all his power, from policy as well as from natural affection to his brother, oppoſed it, and cauſed his queen's brother, Anthony Widville, earl Rivers, to be propoſed as a proper huſband to the young heireſs; who was rejected with diſdain. This cruel injury ſunk deep into the heart of Clarence, who ſeldom afterwards appeared at court, or in council; and when he did appear, was ſullen, ſilent, and viſibly diſcontented. The execution of Burdet and Stacy, who were his friends, and owed their death to their attachment to him, overcame his patience, and threw him off his guard. He went the day after to the council-chamber at Weſtminſter, attended by W. Goddard, a celebrated divine, who had aſſiſted the ſufferers in their laſt moments, and gave in copies of the private and public declarations they had made of their innocence, and then withdrew [149].

[149] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 562.

Edward,

Edward, who wanted only a handle to wreak his vengeance on his unhappy brother, greedily laid hold on this, called a council of peers and prelates, to which he invited the mayor and aldermen of London, and, before them, loaded Clarence with many accuſations, magnifying every indiſcretion into a crime, and repreſenting his laſt action as no leſs than high treaſon. The duke, with the conſent of the council, was committed to the Tower, and, on January 16, was tried for treaſon by his peers in parliament. The accuſations brought againſt him were either groſsly abſurd or very trifling [150]. The heavieſt articles were,—That he had cauſed his ſervants to report, that the king was a necromancer,—and that Burdet was unjuſtly executed. This trial was managed in a very uncommon and indecent manner. The king was the only pleader againſt the priſoner; and the duke was the only perſon who dared to anſwer ſuch a pleader. The witneſſes too (as we are told by a contemporary hiſtorian, who was probably preſent) appeared more like proſecutors than witneſſes [151]. Clarence was condemned, and a ſentence of death pronounced upon him, by Henry duke of Buckingham, who was high ſteward on that occaſion. That one of the houſes of parliament might have no cauſe to reproach the other with all the guilt, or to claim all the honour of this tranſaction, the commons were prevailed upon to appear at the bar of the houſe of peers, ſome time after, and demanded the execution of this ſentence. It was

A. D. 1478. Clarence condemned and executed.

150 See Stow, p. 431, 432. 151 Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 562.

accord-

A. D. 1478. accordingly executed privately in the Tower, March 11; but by whom, or in what manner, the contemporary hiſtorian who gives the fulleſt account of this matter doth not ſay, and probably did not know [152]. Fabian, who was then a young man, tells us, "he was drowned in a barrel of malve-"ſeya [153]."

Edward's conduct. Several of Clarence's eſtates were granted by Edward to the queen's brother, Anthony earl Rivers, on this hypocritical pretence, that as he had done the earl great injuries, it would be an advantage to his ſoul after death, that the earl got his eſtates [154]. The king became more and more luxurious and expenſive, and at the ſame time more oppreſſive and rapacious [155]. Delighted with the regular payment of the 50,000 crowns a-year by the king of France, which enabled him to purſue his pleaſures; flattered with the proſpect of a marriage between the dauphin and his eldeſt daughter; and influenced by the advice of his penſioned miniſters; he permitted Lewis to attempt the ruin of the houſe of Burgundy without interruption.

A. D. 1479. Peſtilence. Though England enjoyed peace at this time, the people were far from being happy. A deſtructive peſtilence raged at London and in other places during the greateſt part of this year [156]. Edward, ſunk in ſloth and luxury, permitted himſelf to be amuſed with treaties and promiſes by the artful, perfidious Lewis, which that prince intended either to keep or violate as he found convenient. It is

152 Continuat. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 562.
153 Fabian. an. 1478.
154 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 95.
155 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 562.
156 Stow, p. 431.

a ſuffi-

a ſufficient proof of this, that though he now agreed, by a very ſolemn treaty, that he and his heirs ſhould pay 50,000 crowns a-year to Edward during his life, and to his heirs for 100 years after his death, he withdrew that payment as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety [157]. A. D. 1479.

It was one of the peculiarities in the character of Edward IV. that he engaged in treaties for the marriages of all his children almoſt as ſoon as they were born. But of all theſe marriages he had none ſo much at heart as that of his eldeſt daughter, Elizabeth, with the dauphin; which had been agreed upon in the treaty of Amiens, A. D. 1475 [158]. By one of the articles of that treaty, Lewis engaged to conduct the young princeſs into France, at his own expence, and to put her in poſſeſſion of 60,000 livres a-year; but as he never intended the marriage ſhould take effect, he was in no haſte to perform this article. Edward at length became impatient and ſuſpicious, and ſent the lord Howard, in May this year, to the court of France, to demand the immediate execution of the above article. But Lewis being no longer under a neceſſity of diſſembling, refuſed to comply with that demand, and threatened to withdraw the payment of the 50,000 crowns a-year, ſtipulated by the ſame treaty. A. D. 1480. Breach between Edward and the king of France.

Edward now began to open his eyes, and to perceive that he had been deluded by the deceitful Lewis. Enraged at this, he renewed, with Mary ducheſs of Burgundy, and her huſband, Maximi- Alliance with Burgundy.

[157] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 104.

[158] Id. ibid. p. 19.

lian

A. D. 1480. lian duke of Auſtria (to whom ſhe had been married, A. D. 1477), the alliance which had been made between him and the late duke Charles; and engaged to ſend them an aid of 6000 archers, if Lewis did not agree to a truce or peace, under his mediation. Maximilian and Mary, on their part, agreed to pay him the 50,000 crowns a-year, which had formerly been paid by France, if he engaged in a war with that crown on their account [159]. Following the bent of his genius, he at the ſame time contracted a marriage between his daughter Ann, a child about four years of Age, and Philip, ſon of Maximilian and Mary, an infant in his cradle; which, like all his other contracts of that kind, came to nothing [160].

Breach with Scotland. When Edward meditated a war againſt France, he reſolved to prevent all interruption from Scotland, by aſſiſting the diſcontented nobles of that kingdom, and embroiling it in a civil war. With this view, he appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester his lieutenant, and ſent orders, to the lords, knights, and gentlemen of the northern counties, to array all the men who were fit for war in thoſe counties [161]. Nothing, however, happened this year, but a few mutual incurſions of little conſequence, and an unſucceſsful attempt on the town of Berwick.

A.D. 1481. War with Scotland. King Edward made great preparations, in the ſpring of this year, for invading Scotland, both by

[159] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12, p. 123—128.
[160] Id. ibid. p. 128—135. [161] Id. ibid. p. 115—119.

ſea

ſea and land [162]. King James was no leſs active in preparing for a war with England, in which he was heartily ſupported by his ſubjects, who ſeem to have been much exaſperated againſt the Engliſh, and particularly againſt the king. This appears from the acts of a parliament held at Edinburgh, in April, in which the moſt vigorous meaſures were adopted for reſiſting the rieſſar (robber) Edward; as he is conſtantly called in theſe acts [163]. In conſequence of this ſpirit, the people crowded from all parts to the royal ſtandard; and an army of 40,000 men (it is ſaid) aſſembled at Edinburgh, in Auguſt, and from thence marched towards England [164]. Edward was ſo much alarmed at the approach of this formidable army, that he reſolved to ſtand on the defenſive; and that all men might be at leiſure to take arms, he commanded all the courts to be ſhut, and put a ſtop to all proceedings at law till Michaelmas [165]. But after all theſe preparations on both ſides, no action of great importance happened in the courſe of this year. A.D. 1481.

Alexander duke of Albany, brother to the king of Scotland, having eſcaped out of the caſtle of Edinburgh, in which he had been impriſoned, was at this time in the court of England, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Edward, June 10. In this treaty Alexander called himſelf king of Scots, engaged to do homage to Edward for his crown, and to deliver the town and caſtle of Berwick to England; and Edward engaged to aſſiſt him with an A. D. 1482. Peace with Scotland.

[162] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 139. [163] Black Acts, fo'. 65, 66.
[164] Pitſcollus Hiſtory of Scotland, edit. 1728, p. 77.
[165] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 141.

A.D.1482. an army to obtain the crown[166]. In conſequence of this treaty, the dukes of Albany and Glouceſter entered Scotland with a gallant army of 25,000 men, took the town, but not the caſtle, of Berwick, and then marched to Edinburgh, into which they were received without any oppoſition[167]. Scotland was at this time in a moſt diſtracted ſtate. The king, at variance with his chief nobility, was impriſoned, or had ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and all government was almoſt diſſolved. In this extremity, a number of the nobility met at Haddington, and ſent propoſals for a peace to the two dukes at Edinburgh; and, after a ſhort negotiation, a peace was concluded, Auguſt 2[168]. Two days after, the provoſt and community of Edinburgh granted a bond to repay all that part of the marriage-portion of the princeſs Cecilia, contracted to the prince of Scotland, which had been paid, provided the king of England declared that it was his pleaſure the contract ſhould be diſſolved[169]. Peace being thus concluded, the duke of Glouceſter, who ſeems to have acted with great moderation, returned with his army into England, and took the caſtle of Berwick in his way. This expedition coſt Edward £. 100,000, a great ſum in thoſe times; but the nation was ſo well pleaſed with the recovery of Berwick, that the next parliament thanked the duke of Glouceſter for his good conduct, and confirmed ſeveral valuable

[166] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 156.
[167] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 562.
[168] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 161.
[169] Id. ibid.

grants that had been made to him by the king, his brother [170]. A. D. 1482.

Edward, being at laſt convinced of the perfidy of the king of France, by receiving the news, that the dauphin, who had been contracted to his daughter Eliſabeth, A. D. 1477, was actually betrothed to Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian duke of Burgundy, at Paris, 4th January this year, that the contract was confirmed by the parliament at Paris, and celebrated with great rejoicings in that city, was enraged beyond meaſure, and breathed nothing but revenge [171]. To execute this revenge, he prepared with great ardour for an expedition into France; and to prevent interruption from Scotland, he concluded a new treaty of alliance with the duke of Albany, who had again revolted [172]. But an enemy againſt whom there is no defence ſoon put a period to all his projects. He died at Weſtminſter, April 9, in the 41ſt year of his age, and the 23d of his reign; but of what diſeaſe is not certainly known [173]. A contemporary writer ſays, that he was not affected with any particular diſeaſe, and ſeems to aſcribe his unexpected death to the anguiſh of his mind, and the bad habit of his body, brought on by his exceſſes [174]. A. D. 1483. Death of Edward IV.

Edward had by his queen three ſons and ſeven daughters, of whom one ſon and two daughters His iſſue.

170 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 563.
171 Monſtrelet, tom. 4. f. 71. Philip de Comines, l. 6. c. 9.
172 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 173.
173 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 564. Stow, p. 433.
174 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 563, 564.

A. D. 1483. died before him; and two ſons and five daughters ſurvived him, viz. Edward, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, born in the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, November 4, A. D. 1470;—Richard duke of York;—Eliſabeth, who was contracted to the dauphin, and afterwards married to Henry VII.—Cecilia, contracted to James prince of Scotland, and married to John viſcount Wells;—Anne, contracted to Philip of Burgundy, and married to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk;—Bridget, who became a nun at Dertford;—and Catharine, contracted to the infante of Spain, and married to William Courtenay earl of Devonſhire. Though he had many miſtreſſes, he had not many natural children. He left a ſon by Eliſabeth Lucie, named Arthur, who, having married Eliſabeth heireſs to her brother John lord Liſle, was raiſed to that title by Henry VIII.; and a daughter named Eliſabeth, who was married to Thomas lord Lumley [175].

Clarence's iſſue. The unhappy duke of Clarence left alſo two children by his ducheſs Iſabel, viz. Edward earl of Warwick, who fell an innocent victim to the cruel jealouſy of Henry VII. A. D. 1499;—and Margaret, of whom we ſhall hear in the progreſs of this work [176].

Character of Edward IV. Edward IV. was much admired in his youth, for the beauty of his face and the handſomeneſs of his perſon; but before his death he became corpulent and bloated, by his intemperance [177]. His addreſs was eaſy, engaging, and familiar, which gained him the hearts of many, and the money of

[175] Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 312. 176. [176] Id ibid. p. 165.
[177] Philip de Comines, tom. 1. p. 197.

not

not a few, particularly of the fair ſex [178]. He never forgot the name or face of any perſon with whom he had once converſed; and he is even ſaid to have known the characters and circumſtances of every nobleman or gentleman of any conſequence in his dominions [179]. His great ſucceſs in war (having gained nine pitched battles, in which he was preſent, and fought on foot, and never loſt one) may be admitted as a ſufficient proof of his military ſkill and courage, as well as of his good fortune. In a word, if his virtues had been equal to his endowments, he would have been both a great and good king. But that was not the caſe. His piety is indeed celebrated by the monk of Croyland; but it did not prevent him from violating his moſt ſolemn oaths, when he was prompted to it by paſſion or the proſpect of advantage [180]. He was guilty of many acts of cruelty; and the unnatural murder of his brother Clarence muſt fix an indelible ſtain upon his character. Whenever he enjoyed peace, he abandoned himſelf to pleaſure and the gratification of his appetites. On his paſſion for women he laid no reſtraint; and his imprudent and criminal indulgence of it plunged him into much diſtreſs and guilt, produced almoſt all the diſorders of his reign, and all the calamities that befel his friends and family. The indulgence of vicious paſſions is as pernicious to princes as to private perſons. A.D. 1483.

178 Hall, f. 37.
179 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 564.
180 Id. ibid.

SECTION V.

From the acceſſion of Edward V. A. D. 1483, *to the acceſſion of Henry* VII. A. D. 1485.

A.D. 1483. Edward V. proclaimed.

EDWARD prince of Wales, the eldeſt ſon of Edward IV. was proclaimed king in London April 9 (the day on which his father died), by the name of Edward V[1]. He was then only in the thirteenth year of his age; but his title was ſo clear, that it was not imagined any diſpute could poſſibly ariſe about his poſſeſſion of the throne; though many dreaded that very violent diſputes would ariſe about the adminiſtration of the government during his minority.

State of parties.

The court of England at this time was divided into two parties. One of theſe parties conſiſted of the queen and her relations, with ſuch as attached themſelves to them in order to obtain preferment; the other was compoſed of certain noblemen, who, by their long and faithful ſervices, had gained the confidence of the late king, and had been thereby ſupported in their places, without any dependence upon or connection with the queen's relations. The chiefs of this laſt party were,—the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham, with the lords Haſtings, Howard, and Stanley. While Edward IV. lived, his authority checked the paſſions of both theſe parties, and kept them within

[1] Sir Tho. More, apud Kennet, vol. i. p. 481.

decent

decent bounds. He was not, however, ignorant of their ſecret animoſity; and therefore, in his laſt ſickneſs, he brought about a reconciliation between them, which, like almoſt all court-reconciliations, was neither ſincere nor permanent[2]. A. D. 1483.

The great object which each of theſe parties had in view was, to get and keep poſſeſſion of the perſon of the young king, that they might poſſeſs his power. At the time of his father's death he reſided at Ludlow caſtle, under the care of his uncle Anthony earl Rivers, who was his governor, attended by lord Richard Grey, his uterine brother, ſir Thomas Vaughan, his chamberlain, and others of the ſame party[3]. The queen and her friends propoſed in council to raiſe a ſmall army to eſcort the king to London, in order to his coronation; but this meaſure was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the other party, who ſaw its tendency; and particularly by the lord chamberlain Haſtings, who threatened to leave the court. The queen, unwilling to raiſe any diſturbance in the beginning of her ſon's reign, agreed to limit the number of his attendants to 2000[4]. That the queen aſpired to the regency was ſuſpected, and is not improbable; but cannot, I think, be proved: but that ſhe wiſhed, and hoped, that ſhe and her relations would have as much power in the preſent as they had in the preceding reign, and that her enemies were determined to prevent this, if poſſible, is abundantly evident. Diſpute in council.

[2] Hall, Ed. IV. f. 60. [3] Sir T. More, p. 481.
[4] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 564, 565.

A.D. 1483.

Conduct of the duke of Glouceſter.

The duke of Glouceſter was in the North of England, preparing for a ſecond expedition into Scotland, when he received intelligence of the king his brother's death. He immediately haſtened to York, attended by 600 of his friends, beſides his uſual retinue, all dreſſed in mourning. There he celebrated the late king's funeral, proclaimed his ſon Edward V. took an oath of fealty to that young prince, and enjoined the magiſtrates, nobility, and gentlemen of thoſe parts, to take ſimilar oaths. From thence, too, he wrote letters to the queen, and to her brother the earl Rivers, full of the warmeſt profeſſions of friendſhip to them, and of loyalty, to the king[s]. What his real intentions were when he made theſe profeſſions, I ſhall not ſo much as conjecture.

Glouceſter's views.

That the lord Haſtings ſent intelligence to the duke of Glouceſter of the tranſactions in council, and the deſigns of the queen and her party at court, together with offers of his aſſiſtance to raiſe him to the regency, cannot be doubted. For though that lord had been moſt ſincerely attached to Edward IV. (from whom he had received the honourable and lucrative offices of governor of Calais and chamberlain of England), and was no leſs ſincerely attached to his ſon Edward V.; yet there was nothing he dreaded ſo much as to ſee the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen and her relations, by whom he knew he was hated. Glouceſter at the ſame time received ſimilar aſſurances from Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, the moſt

[s] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 565.

power-

powerful nobleman then in England, who promiſed to join him immediately, at the head of his numerous vaſſals [6]. Having received theſe aſſurances, and knowing that the noblemen, gentlemen, and people of the North of England were warmly engaged in his intereſt, he certainly determined to intercept the young king in his way to London, to take him out of the hands of his mother's relations, and thereby ſecure to himſelf the adminiſtration during his minority; but whether his views extended any further at this time or not, it ſeems to be impoſſible to diſcover. A. D. 1483.

To execute his deſigns, whatever they were, the duke of Glouceſter departed from York, with a numerous retinue, and arrived, April 29, at Northampton, where he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, with 900 of his followers [7]. The king, being then on his way to London, lodged that night at Stony-Stratford, only ten miles from Northampton; and the earl Rivers, the lord Richard Grey, and ſome others, entertaining no ſuſpicion of any ill deſign againſt them, waited on the two dukes, to concert meaſures about the king's journey, and approaching coronation. They were received by them with the greateſt appearances of cordiality, and they ſpent the evening together in convivial mirth and pleaſantry. But next morning, the earl Rivers, the lord Richard Grey, ſir Thomas Vaughan, and ſir Richard Hawſe, were made priſoners, and ſent to the caſtle of Pomfret The earl Rivers and others impriſoned.

[6] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 565. Sir T. More, p. 452. col. 2.
[7] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 565.

in

A. D. 1483. in Yorkſhire [8]. All the king's other attendants and ſervants were diſmiſſed, and a proclamation publiſhed, forbidding them to come near the court, under the pain of death [9].

Glouceſter comforts the king.

This tumultuous ſeizure of his neareſt relations, and arbitrary diſmiſſion of all his freinds and ſervants; ſtruck the young king with grief and terror, and made him burſt out into complaints and tears. When the duke of Glouceſter came into his preſence, he fell upon his knees, made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and affection to his perſon; aſſured him, that what had been done was for his preſervation; and, in a word, he ſaid and did every thing in his power to dry up the tears and diſpel the terrors of the helpleſs, unhappy prince [10].

The queen takes ſanctuary.

When the report of theſe unexpected events reached London, it occaſioned great confuſion, both at court and in the city. The queen, almoſt diſtracted with grief and terror, haſtened, with her ſon the duke of York, and her five daughters, into the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where ſhe had formerly found protection in her diſtreſs. The partiſans of the different parties, in great crowds, and ſome of them in arms, had meetings and conſultations; thoſe of the queen's party in Weſtminſter, and thoſe of the duke of Glouceſter's party, with the lord Haſtings, in the city [11]. In theſe conſultations, no fixed reſolutions could be formed, as the real intentions of thoſe who had the king in their poſſeſſion were unknown.

[8] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 565. [9] Id. ibid.
[10] Id. ibid. Sir T. More, p. 484.
[11] Sir T. More, p. 484. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 566.

The

A. D. 1483. Archbiſhop viſits the queen.

The lord Haſtings, who (though an enemy to the queen and her relations) was heartily attached to the young king, and only meant to raiſe the duke of Glouceſter to the regency, ſent a meſſenger, at midnight, May 1, to Thomas of Rotherham, archbiſhop of York, and chancellor of England, to acquaint him with what had happened at Stony-Stratford, and to aſſure him, that the intentions of the lords who had ſeized the king were honourable, and for the good of the nation; and that all would end well. That prelate, alarmed at what he heard, immediately aroſe; and, taking the great ſeal with him, and attended by his ſervants in arms, haſtened to the queen. He found that unhappy princeſs in the ſanctuary, ſitting on the floor, ſurrounded by her weeping children, herſelf bathed in tears, and bewailing the approaching deſtruction of herſelf and family. The good prelate laboured to diſpel her terrors and revive her hopes, by telling her the comfortable meſſage he had received from the lord Haſtings. But the very name of Haſtings, whoſe hatred to her and her family ſhe well knew, increaſed both her fears and griefs. The archbiſhop, finding her apprehenſions and ſorrows were too great to be removed by words, gave her the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his own inviolable attachment; and, leaving the great ſeal with her as a pledge of his ſincerity, retired. He ſoon became ſenſible of the error he had committed in leaving the ſeal; and, ſending for it by a proper meſſenger, it was returned [12].

[12] Sir T. More, p. 483.

The

A. D. 1483. The king conducted to London.

The duke of Glouceſter and his partiſans, having ſpent a day or two at Stony-Stratford, diſpoſing of their priſoners, and forming their new arrangements, conducted the king to London; into which they entered, May 4, the duke riding bare headed before his nephew, and calling to the people, "Behold your king." The young monarch was lodged in the biſhop's palace; where, it was ſaid, the duke renewed his oath of fealty, in which he was followed by all the prelates and nobles preſent, together with the mayor and aldermen of London [13].

Duke of Glouceſter protector.

Two or three days after, a great council was aſſembled, conſiſting of all the prelates, nobles, and great men about London; and by this council, the duke of Glouceſter was unanimouſly choſen protector of the king and kingdom. By this council, too, after ſome deliberation, it was agreed, that the king ſhould be lodged in the tower of London, the place from which the kings, in thoſe times, commonly rode in ſtate to Weſtminſter, on the day before their coronation [14].

Popularity of Glouceſter.

The duke of Glouceſter doth not ſeem to have been unpopular, but rather the contrary, at this period. If he had not been virtuous, he had been decent in his deportment, and avoided thoſe exceſſes into which the king his brother had fallen. His wiſdom was ſuch, that, in the midſt of a court torn by the moſt violent factions, he was not obnoxious to either party; and though he ſtood well with the ancient nobility, he had no quarrels with

[13] Sir T. More, p. 486. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 566.
[14] Id. ibid.

the

the queen and her relations. He had adhered ſteadily to the late king in all his fortunes, and made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and affection to his ſon.—In a word, if he had died at this time, or if he had never aſpired higher than the protectorſhip, he would probably have been handed down to poſterity with the character of a brave and wiſe prince. A. D. 1483.

After the duke of Glouceſter was inveſted with the protectorſhip, he proceeded with great ſeeming alacrity in preparing for the coronation of the young king, which was appointed to be at Weſtminſter, June 22. To render that ceremony the more auguſt and ſplendid, he required, by proclamation, May 20, all gentlemen, who had £.40 a-year in land, to come to London by June 18, to receive the honour of knighthood; and by particular letters, dated June 5, he invited fifty young noblemen and gentlemen, of the beſt families, to appear before the king in the tower of London, four days before his coronation, to receive the noble order of knighthood, probably meaning the order of the Bath [15]. Theſe meaſures were either indications that he really had an intention, ſo late as June 5, to crown his nephew on June 22, or they were deſigned to perſuade the world that he had ſuch an intention; but which of theſe was the caſe, I ſhall not determine. Proclamations.

In the mean time, the council frequently met, ſometimes at one place, and ſometimes at another, Lord Haſtings beheaded.

[15] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 181. 185.

to

A. D. 1483. to conſult about the coronation, and other affairs. On Friday, June 13, one part of the council met at Weſtminſter, to notify in form to the mayor and aldermen of London the day of the coronation; and the other part of it met with the protector in the Tower. As this part of the council was deliberating on buſineſs, the door of the room was ſuddenly opened, and a party of armed men ruſhed in, crying, treaſon! treaſon! One of them wounded the lord Stanley on the head with a pole-axe; and they inſtantly ſeized that lord, with the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and lord Haſtings. The uproar was great, and the aſtoniſhment of the priſoners inexpreſſible, eſpecially of lord Haſtings, when he heard the protector (with whom he believed he ſtood in the higheſt favour) pronounce him a traitor, and commanded him to be immediately put to death. This cruel command was executed with equal cruelty; and having allowed him only a few moments to confeſs to a prieſt, they beheaded him on a log of wood, which lay accidentally in the court of the Tower. The lord Stanley and the two prelates were impriſoned in different apartments of that fortreſs [16]. What prompted the protector to imbrue his hands in the blood of a nobleman who had lately done him the moſt eſſential ſervices, and with whom he had, to that moment, lived on the moſt friendly footing, I ſhall by and by inquire.

[16] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 566. Sir T. More, p. 494. Sir Thomas relates ſeveral other circumſtances of this ſtrange tranſaction; but many of them are frivolous, and others of them highly improbable.

On

A. D. 1483.

Executions at Pomfret.

On the ſame day (June 13), a ſtill more bloody tragedy was acted at Pomfret in Yorkſhire. Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a great confident of the protector, had, by his orders, collected an army of about 5000 men, in the north, and was conducting them towards London. When he arrived at Pomfret, he beheaded, without any trial, and with ſome circumſtances of peculiar cruelty, Anthony earl Rivers, the king's uncle, and the moſt accompliſhed nobleman of that age—the lord Richard Grey, the king's uterine brother—ſir Thomas Vaughan, who had been chamberlain to the king when prince of Wales—and ſir Richard Hawſe [17]. That Ratcliffe perpetrated theſe horrid deeds in conſequence of orders from the protector, cannot be doubted.

The duke of York in the Tower.

The protector, who ſtill continued to wear the maſk of loyalty to the king, held a council on Monday, June 16 [18]. At this council it was ſuggeſted, that it would be highly indecent to ſee the duke of York in ſanctuary among murderers, thieves, and robbers, at the time of his brother's coronation; and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the queen, and perſuade her to permit the duke of York to leave the ſanctuary. Cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was put at the head of this deputation (much, it is ſaid, againſt his will), and prevailed upon the queen, who cer-

[17] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 567. Sir T. More, p. 496.

[18] The hiſtorian of Croyland is the only contemporary writer who gives a date to this tranſaction; and I have followed him, though I have ſome ſuſpicion that he hath placed it a little too late. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 566.

tainly

A.D.1483. tainly had not then heard of the cruel fate of her ſon and brother at Pomfret, to put the young prince into his hands, who conducted him to the Tower, and delivered him to the protector [19]. A contemporary hiſtorian ſays, that the queen reſigned her ſon to the archbiſhop willingly; but ſubſequent hiſtorians affirm (on what authority I know not), that it was with extreme reluctance, and only to prevent his being torn from her by force.

End of the reign of Edward V.

The laſt act of royal authority that we know of that was performed by the unfortunate Edward V. or rather by the protector in his name, was giving commiſſions to three perſons to provide oxen and ſheep for the uſe of the houſehold for ſix months, dated June 17 [20]. This was certainly the laſt day of the reign, if a reign it can be called, of that unhappy prince. On that day a new and ſurpriſing ſcene began to be exhibited, to which we muſt now attend.

When the protector formed his plot.

It ſeems to be impoſſible to diſcover at what time Richard duke of Glouceſter formed the plan of ſupplanting his nephew, and placing himſelf on the throne. If he had formed that plan before he took the oath of fealty to the young king, and engaged others to take it, he was guilty of great impiety; but as the fact cannot be proved, he cannot be fairly convicted of that crime. If we could rely on the following relation of ſome of our hiſtorians, we ſhould be led to think, that this deſign had been entertained much earlier than is commonly imagined.

[19] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 566. [20] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 187.

One

One Miſtlebroke, ſay they, came to the houſe of A. D. 1483.
one Pottier, a ſervant of the duke of Glouceſter, in the night, and told him that king Edward was dead; then ſaid Pottier my maſter will be king[21]. That ſo obſcure a perſon as Pottier ſhould be in poſſeſſion of ſuch an important ſecret, is not very probable. One hiſtorian aſſerts, that Richard, in the reign of Edward IV. conſulted the moſt famous lawyers in England about the grounds on which he afterwards claimed the crown; and another affirms, that he had even expoſtulated with Edward himſelf on that ſubject[22]. But what credit is due to theſe aſſertions, I ſhall not determine. At any rate, a plan for dethroning a young prince, who had ſucceeded his father with univerſal approbation, could not be formed and brought to maturity in a day, or even in a few days. It certainly required a conſiderable ſpace of time to communicate this plan to a ſufficient number of perſons, and to gain their conſent to its execution. That this plan was privately communicated to Buckingham, Howard, Ratcliffe, Cateſby, the mayor of London, and many others, and their aſſent obtained, is very certain; and that lord Haſtings was put to death for refuſing his aſſent, is aſſerted by almoſt all our hiſtorians. But how much time all this required cannot be aſcertained.

The ſtory that was now divulged, and propagated by the protector and his friends, on which he The Protector's claim to the crown.

[21] Hall, f. 41. Ed. V. Sir T. More, p. 481.
[22] Ibid. Buck's Hiſt. Richard III. p. 585.

A. D. 1483. founded his own claim to the crown, and the excluſion of his nephew, was this: that the late king Edward IV. before he married the lady Grey, had been contracted, and even privately married, to lady Eleanor Butler, widow of the lord Butler of Sudley; and that, in conſequence of this pre-contract, or prior marriage, his ſubſequent marriage was illegal, and all his children by the queen were baſtards [23]. Whether this ſtrange tale, true or falſe, was known before it was now publiſhed, or, if it was known, to what degree of notoriety it had attained, cannot be now diſcovered. Many reaſons might be given to induce us to believe, that it had never been heard of till it was produced on this occaſion. If the earl of Warwick or the duke of Clarence had been acquainted with it, when they were inflamed with the moſt violent hatred againſt the queen and her relations, and againſt the king on their account, would they not have publiſhed it to the world? Would it not have covered all their enemies with confuſion, if they had made it known that the king and queen were living in adultery, and attempting to impoſe a ſpurious iſſue upon the nation? This would have effectually eſtabliſhed the right of the duke of Clarence to the ſucceſſion; and is it to be imagined, that a prince who had attempted to defame his own mother, in order to baſtardiſe his brother (for which he was attainted by parliament), would have ſpared the queen, his mortal enemy, if he had known or ſuſpected that

[23] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 567.

her

her marriage was liable to the leaſt objection? The queen had been crowned with great ſolemnity, provided for by parliament as queen of England, acknowledged by all the world as Edward's lawful wife to his death, and their children contracted to the greateſt princes in Europe, without the leaſt ſurmiſe of any flaw in their birth. The nature of Edward's engagement with lady Butler is not well defined; nor is the truth of it well eſtabliſhed. A contemporary author of the beſt credit, only ſays, "It was a edged that he had made a contract with "her[24]." Another contemporary writer indeed relates, "That the biſhop of Bath ſaid, that Ed-"ward had promiſed marriage to her in his pre-"ſence, and that he had afterwards married them "without any witneſſes[25]." But neither the time nor the place of this pretended marriage were ever mentioned; the lady was dead; no witneſſes had been preſent at it: and therefore it could not be proved, but by the ſingle teſtimony of Stillington, biſhop of Bath, who was a very wicked, ambitious man, and was tempted (as we are told by Philip de Comines) to make this declaration by the pompous promiſes of the protector[26]. That Edward had deluded the lady Butler by oaths and promiſes, and that Stillington, then a profligate young prieſt, was in the ſecret, and aſſiſted in the deluſion, might be true; but that he had contracted any engagements with her that rendered his ſubſequent marriage illegal, and all his children baſtards, there is not ſuf- A. D. 1483.

[24] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 567. [25] Philip de Comines, l. 5. c. 18. p. 435. [26] Id. l. 6. c. 9. p. 497.

A.D. 1483. ficient evidence. The protector got rid of the claims of Edward earl of Warwick and his ſiſter, the children of his elder brother Clarence, by the attainder of their father.

Schemes of the duke of Glouceſter.

This whole affair ſeems to have been a ſcene of great iniquity, in which the protector was the principal actor, aſſiſted by many great accomplices. Having obſerved that the greateſt part of the ancient nobility both feared and hated the queen and her relations, and dreaded that when the young king came of age, his mother would inſtigate him to revenge the murder of her ſon and brother, by whom he had been educated, and the many cruel injuries that had been done to her and her family; he believed it would not be difficult to perſuade them to raiſe him to the throne, as they had raiſed him to the protectorſhip, as the only effectual way of ſecuring themſelves from danger. He made the trial; and, with the help of liberal promiſes, he generally ſucceeded. But ſome pretence was wanting to ſet aſide the numerous iſſue of the late king; and no pretence would anſwer that purpoſe but that of their being baſtards. The gallantries of Edward, and the profuſion of his promiſes and oaths to ſeveral ladies, in order to ſeduce them, were not unknown. Stillington, who had been impriſoned by the late king, and was one of Richard's moſt zealous partizans, furniſhed them with one ſtory; and if that had not been furniſhed, another would have been found[27]. It plainly appears, that the pro-

[27] Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 497.

A. D. 1483.

tector himſelf did not lay much ſtreſs on this ſtory: for in the act of parliament baſtardiſing Edward's iſſue, many other objections are made to his marriage, all of them trifling, and ſome of them perfectly ridiculous; and the tale of lady Butler is brought in at the end, without any name of its author or evidence of its truth [28].

Shaw's ſermon.

The protector's ſcheme being now ripe for execution, he prevailed upon Dr. Ralph Shaw, a celebrated preacher, brother to the mayor of London, to publiſh his claim to the crown, in a ſermon at Paul's-croſs, on Sunday, June 22 [29]. The doctor, it is ſaid, overacted his part, and did not content himſelf with baſtardiſing king Edward's children, but aſſerted, that Edward himſelf and the duke of Clarence had been baſtards, at the expence of the character of Cecily ducheſs of York, the protector's mother [30]. But that he carried his folly and impudence to this length, eſpecially as the protector was preſent, may be doubted [31]. It is ſtill more incredible, that (as ſome of our hiſtorians affirm) he called the lady to whom he alleged king Edward had been precontracted, lady Eliſabeth Lucy, inſtead of lady Eleanor Butler [32]. Fabian, who reſided then in London, and was perhaps pre-

[28] Parliament Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 389. One of their objections to the marriage is, that king Edward had been betwitched by the lady Grey's mother; and this the parliament gravely undertake to prove.

[29] Fabian, f. 224. [30] Sir T. More, p. 497.

[31] See the honourable Mr. Walpole's excellent work, intitled, "Hiſtoric Doubts," which hath thrown much light on this perplexed part of our hiſtory, p. 37, &c.

[32] Mr. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 41.

A. D. 1483. ſent at this famous ſermon, ſays, "It was to the "great abucion of all the audience, except ſuch as "favoured the mater, which were few in number, "if the truth or plainneſs might have been "ſhewed[33]."

Buckingham's ſpeech at Guildhall.

The duke of Buckingham made an eloquent harangue on the ſame ſubject, June 24, to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, from the huſtings in Guildhall, endeavouring to convince them that king Edward's children were baſtards, and that the protector was the only perſon who had a right to the crown. All admired his eloquence, though many, it is ſaid, were not convinced by his arguments; but ſome of the audience having toſſed up their caps, and cried, Long live king Richard! the duke interpreted that cry as the unanimous voice of the citizens of London, acknowledging the protector's title to the crown. He returned them his moſt hearty thanks, accompanied with promiſes of many favours and much felicity in the future reign; and then deſired the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens, to meet him next day, to petition the protector to take upon him the crown, expreſſing great apprehenſions that his exceſſive modeſty, and wonderful affection to his brother's children, would make him reject their petition[34].

The crown offered to the protector.

Accordingly, on Wedneſday, June 25, the duke of Buckingham, and ſeveral noblemen, with the mayor and aldermen, went to Baynard's caſtle, where the protector then was, and requeſted an audience on a matter of great importance. The

[33] Fabian, f. 224. [34] Sir T. More, p. 498.

protector

protector at firſt ſeemed to be much alarmed at ſo great a concourſe, and to dread ſome deſign againſt his perſon, but was at length prevailed upon to take courage, and to give them audience. When they came into his preſence, the duke of Buckingham, having requeſted and obtained leave to ſpeak, made a long harangue on the miſeries and tyranny of the late reign, the illegality of Edward's marriage, the illegitimacy of his children, the protector's undoubted title to the crown; and concluded with an earneſt requeſt to him, in the name of that aſſembly, to take that crown to which he was ſo well intitled. The protector appeared to be ſurpriſed at this propoſal. He acknowledged the truth of all the duke had advanced, but declared, that his love to his brother's children was greater than his love to a crown. The duke, returning to the charge, aſſured him that none of Edward's children ſhould ever reign over them; and at laſt dropt a hint that if he perſiſted in refuſing the crown, they would offer it to another, who would not refuſe it. The protector ſeemed to be ſtartled at that hint, began to heſitate, deſired a little time to conſider, and gave them cauſe to hope that he would yield to reaſon and importunity [45]. A. D. 1483.

The laſt ſcene of this political farce, or rather tragedy, was acted on Thurſday, June 26. In the morning of that day, all the prelates, lords, and great men of the protector's party, with their numerous followers, came to Baynard's caſtle, "and "(to uſe his own words) porrected to him a bill The protector accepts the crown.

[45] Sir T. More, p. 498.

A. D. 1483. "of petition, wherein his ſure and true title was "evidently ſhewed and declared. Where upon "the kinge's highnis (ſo he now called himſelf), "notably aſſiſted by wel nere al the lords ſpiritual "and temporall of this royalme, went the ſame "day unto the palais at Weſtminſter, and ther, in "ſuch roial honourable apparrelled, within the "gret hal ther toke poſſeſſion, and declared his "mind, that the ſame day he wold begin to reyne "upon his people; and from thence rode ſolempnly "to the cathedral-church of London, and was re-"ceived ther with proceſſion with gret congratula-"tion and acclamation of al the people in every "place[36]."

Aſſiſted by an armed force.

Richard III. (as he muſt now be called) in making his way to the throne, had not truſted entirely to the clearneſs of his title, the number of his noble friends, or the favour of the people. He had brought a conſiderable body of armed followers with him to London; his chief accomplice, the duke of Buckingham, had brought a ſtill greater number, and had ſent for many more from Wales; and an army of about 5000 men had arrived from the north. All theſe (as we are told by a contemporary hiſtorian) conſtituted "a terrible and un-"heard of number of armed men[37]." Theſe troops, it is ſaid, did not make a very gay appearance, and

[36] This is a part of that account of his acceſſion to the throne that Richard III. ſent to the garriſon at Calais, to perſuade them to take an oath of fealty to him, which they refuſed, becauſe they had taken an oath to Edward V. The whole account is very pompous, and in ſeveral particulars not ſtrictly true. Buck apud Kennet, p. 522. Note.

[37] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 566.

were

were laughed at by the citizens of London, for their ſhabby dreſs and ruſty armour [38]. But theſe forces were certainly very formidable, eſpecially as they were commanded by ſir Richard Radcliffe, who had given many proofs, and one very lately at Pomfret, that he was capable of perpetrating the moſt horrid and atrocious deeds. It would be great injuſtice, therefore, to deny theſe troops their ſhare of the honour or infamy of this revolution. A.D. 1483.

Richard III. was proclaimed by that name in London, June 27, and on the ſame day delivered the great ſeal to the biſhop of Lincoln, one of the ſpiritual lords who had contributed to his elevation [39]. Coronation.

As the ceremony of coronation was conſidered in thoſe times as almoſt eſſential to royalty, Richard made great haſte to be crowned; and the preparations that had been made for the coronation of his nephew, enabled him to be ſooner ready. It appears from his coronation-roll, which is ſtill extant, that various robes were ordered, on that occaſion, for lord Edward, ſon of the late king Edward IV. and his attendants; which makes it probable that it was once intended that he ſhould walk at his uncle's coronation [40]. But it is highly probable that on ſecond thoughts the deſign was laid aſide. So wiſe a man as Richard would ſoon reflect, that the ſight of the helpleſs degraded prince would excite compaſſion for him, and indignation againſt his oppreſſor, in every feeling heart. So ſingular a circumſtance, as a degraded king walk-

[38] Fabian, f. 215. [39] Rym. Fœd. t. 12. p. 189.
[40] Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 65, 66.

ing

A. D. 1483. ing at the coronation of his ſucceſſor, who had degraded him, would have been the ſubject of much converſation, and would certainly have deen recorded; and yet neither Fabian, nor the hiſtorian of Croyland, who flouriſhed at that time, nor any ſubſequent hiſtorian, mention ſuch a circumſtance. On the contrary, Fabian tells us, that as ſoon as Richard accepted the ſovereignty, "the prince, or "of right, king Edward V. with his brother the "duke of York, were put under ſurer kepynge "in the Towre, in ſuch wyſe that they never "came abrode after[41]." A few days before the coronation, John lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk, and appointed high ſteward[42]. About the ſame time he conferred honours and offices on ſeveral of his moſt active friends; and the archbiſhop of York, and lord Stanley, having complied with the times, were ſet at liberty[43]. At length all things being ready, Richard, with his conſort Ann Nevile, youngeſt daughter of the great earl of Warwick, were crowned at Weſtminſter, July 6, with the uſual ſolemnities[44].

Firſt acts of Richard III.

The treaſures amaſſed by Edward IV. for his intended expedition into France, were ſeized by Richard, and gained him many friends, or at leaſt accomplices, by enabling him to reward them[45]. Nor was he a niggard in the diſtribution of his bounty. In particular, he amply rewarded his northern forces, and ſent them home contented[46].

[41] Fabian, f. 225. [42] Rym. Fœd. t. 12. p. 191.
[43] Buck, p. 525. [44] Id. ibid. [45] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 567.
[46] Hall, Richard III. f. 2.

He

He ſent ambaſſadors to ſeveral foreign princes to announce his acceſſion and cultivate their friendſhip [47]. To his envoy to the court of Britanny, he gives authority—"to negotiate any buſineſs he "thought proper, even though it was of ſuch a "nature as to require a ſpecial mandate,"—which plainly points at a ſecret negotiation about the earl of Richmond, probably with a view to get him into his hands [48]. At the ſame time, he treated the counteſs of Richmond with great reſpect, and appointed her huſband, the lord Stanley, ſteward of the houſehold. His chief accomplice, the duke of Buckingham, he loaded with eſtates and honours [49]. In a word, he neglected nothing to content his friends, to gain or to guard againſt his enemies. A.D. 1483.

Having ſettled all affairs in London, and ſet a guard about the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, to prevent the eſcape of the queen or her daughters, he ſet out on a progreſs with his queen and ſon, and a ſplendid court [50]. In this progreſs he ſpent ſome days at Oxford; and at the requeſt of the univerſity he releaſed the biſhop of Ely from his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the cuſtody of the duke of Buckingham, which produced effects equally ſurpriſing and unexpected [51]. At Glouceſter, Coventry, and all other places, Richard courted popularity by every art, and A progreſs.

47 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, &c.
48 Id. ibid. p. 194.
49 See a liſt of theſe in Kennet, vol. 1. p. 530. note n.
50 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 567.
51 Sir T. More, p. 500. Buck, p. 505.

laboured

A. D. 1483. laboured to raiſe expectations of a mild and equitable reign. The duke of Buckingham left the court at Glouceſter in the moſt perfect good humour, and went to the caſtle of Brecknock, to which he had before ſent his priſoner the biſhop of Ely.

Story of the murder of the two princes.

When Richard was at Glouceſter in the courſe of this progreſs, he ſent, it is ſaid, one of his pages to ſir Robert Brakinbury, conſtable of the Tower of London, with a letter or meſſage, commanding him to murder the two young princes, Edward V. and his brother Richard duke of York. Sir Robert declining that deteſtable office, ſir James Tyrrel, maſter of the horſe, was ſent from the court at Warwick, with a commiſſion to command in the Tower one night, and in that night the two young princes were ſuffocated in their beds, by two ruffians called Miles Forreſt and John Dighton, and buried at the ſtair-foot, from whence their bodies were removed by the chaplain of the Tower, to a place that was never diſcovered [52]. This ſtrange ſtory was firſt told by ſir Thomas More, as one of the various tales he had heard concerning the death of the two princes; and though it is very improbable, if not evidently falſe in ſome particulars, it hath been adopted by many ſubſequent hiſtorians [53].

Richard crowned at York.

About the end of Auguſt the court arrived at York, to which the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the north, came in crowds. Richard, in order

[52] Sir T. More, p. 500, 501.

[53] See Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 51—59.

to

to pleaſe them and ſecure their favour, reſolved to entertain them with a coronation. Accordingly he and his queen were crowned in the cathedral-church of that northern capital, by archbiſhop Rotherham, September 8, and on the ſame day he created his only legitimate ſon Edward, then about eight years of age, prince of Wales[54]. The duke of Albany, and the ambaſſador of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile and Arragon, aſſiſted at this coronation, which was uncommonly magnificent[55]. A. D. 1483.

But Richard's tranquillity was of ſhort duration: clouds began to gather in ſeveral places, and to thteaten him with a dreadful ſtorm. As ſoon as he departed from London, on his progreſs into the north, the people of Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, Hampſhire, Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, and other ſouthern counties, no longer overawed by the northern and Welſh armies, began to murmur at the late tranſactions. The gentlemen of theſe counties had private meetings, and formed aſſociations for releaſing Edward V. from the Tower, and reſtoring him to the throne[56]. Richard had ſtill a more dangerous enemy who was ſecretly plotting his deſtruction. This was his chief accomplice, Henry duke of Buckingham, who had been the great inſtrument of his elevation. It is impoſſible to diſcover the motives that determined Buckingham to pull down the perſon he had ſo lately Plots againſt Richard;

[54] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 567. G. Buck, p. 527.
[55] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 200.
[56] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 568.

raiſed.

A.D. 1483. raiſed [57]. It is moſt probable that his perfect knowledge of his own and of Richard's character was his principal motive. It is impoſſible that any real friendſhip or confidence could ſubſiſt between two men who had plotted together the death of lord Rivers, lord Haſtings, lord Grey, and others, when they were profeſſing the greateſt friendſhip for them. Buckingham might very naturally fear that Richard would take an opportunity of treating him as he had treated theſe noblemen, in order to get poſſeſſion of his immenſe wealth; and that his priſoner John Morton, biſhop of Ely, the moſt artful man in the world, might, by his hints and inſinuations, increaſe thoſe fears. However this may be, it is perfectly certain that Buckingham, ſoon after his arrival at the caſtle of Brecknock, formed the deſign of dethroning Richard, and correſponded with the malcontents in the ſouth and weſt of England about the execution of that deſign [58].

in favour of Henry earl of Richmond.

None of the two jejune hiſtorians of thoſe times ſay, that the duke of Buckingham had originally the ſame views with the other malcontents, of reſtoring Edward V. though that is not improbable [59]. But in Auguſt, a report was circulated, and generally believed, that the two young princes were murdered in the Tower. This obliged all the conſpirators to look out for a proper perſon to ſubſtitute in the place of Richard [60]. In more

[57] Several hiſtorians ſay, it was becauſe he refuſed to grant him the whole earldom of Hereford. But there is the cleareſt evidence that he granted him the whole. Dugdale. vol. 1. p. 168, 169.

[58] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 568. [59] Id. ibid. Fabian. [60] Hiſt. Croyl.

orderly

orderly and peaceful times, it would never have been imagined, that Henry earl of Richmond had any pretenſions to the crown. He was deſcended by his mother from one of the natural ſons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, by Katherine Swineford. It is true, that when the duke married that lady, he procured the legitimation, by parliament, of the children he had by her in the time of his former marriage; but in the very act of legitimation there is an exception of the crown and royal dignity, of which they are declared incapable. Beſides this, there were ſeveral princes and princeſſes, both in Spain and Portugal, legitimate deſcendants of John of Gaunt, by his ſecond wife Conſtantia heireſs of Caſtile; but they were too far diſtant, and do not ſeem to have entertained any thoughts of aſſerting their claims to the crown of England. There were alſo ſeveral princes and princeſſes of the houſe of York, whoſe titles were ſtill better. But the earl of Richmond poſſeſſed ſome advantages, which recommended him to the conſpirators, as the moſt proper perſon to ſet up in oppoſition to Richard. He was in the prime of life, and had long been conſidered by the Lancaſtrian party in England as the repreſentative of that family; and it was propoſed to ſupply the defect in his title by his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. and thereby unite the two roſes, and put an end to that fatal quarrel which had almoſt ruined England. The queen, and the counteſs of Richmond, Henry's mother, entered warmly into that ſcheme, which makes it probable that the queen believed her two ſons were dead. A. D. 1483.

A.D. 1483. dead. Meſſengers were ſent to the court of Britanny, to acquaint Henry with this ſcheme (of his conſent to which no doubt was entertained), and to entreat him to come into England as ſoon as poſſible, with all the force he could collect [61].

Richard's preparations.

Though theſe tranſactions were conducted with all poſſible ſecreſy, they did not eſcape the vigilance of Richard. Soon after his coronation at York, he was informed, that plots were forming againſt him in the ſouth; and immediately ſuſpecting the duke of Buckingham, he endeavoured firſt by promiſes, and afterwards by threats, to bring him to court. But both were ineffectual. He then exerted himſelf, with great activity, to raiſe forces in the north, and other parts, to oppoſe his enemies [62]. Being joined by the earl of Northumberland, and other great men, with their followers, he directed his march towards Wales; having ſent orders before, to ſir Thomas Vaughan and his other friends in thoſe parts, to watch the motions of the duke of Buckingham, to break down the bridges on the Severn, promiſing them the plunder of the caſtle of Brecknock, for their encouragement [63].

Buckingham's inſurrection.

The conſpirators, by concert, ſet up their ſtandards all in one day, October 18, in ſeveral different places, to diſtract their enemies—the duke of Buckingham at Brecknock—the marquis of Dorſet, ſir Edward Courtenay, &c. at Exeter—ſir John Brown, ſir Thomas Lawknor, &c. at Maid-

[61] Hall, f. 12—14 Hollingſh. p. 1400.
[62] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 568. [63] Id. ibid.

ſtone

ſtone—ſir William Norris, ſir William Berkeley, &c. at Newbury—and ſir Richard Widvile, ſir Richard Beauchamp, &c. at Saliſbury. The king, on October 19, was at Grafton in Northamptonſhire, ready to march into Wales, or into the weſt, as occaſion might require [64]. The duke of Buckingham directed his march towards the Severn, in order to paſs that river, and join his confederates; and if that junction had been effected, Richard would probably have been dethroned. But ſuch heavy rains fell for ſeveral days, that the Severn overflowed its banks, and deluged the country, to a degree that never had been known, and was long remembered by the name of *Buckingham's flood*. His Welſh troops were ſo much diſcouraged by this, that they diſbanded, and returned home; which obliged him to diſmiſs all his ſervants, diſguiſe his perſon, and conceal himſelf in the houſe of one Banniſter, a dependent on his family, not far from Shrewſbury [65]. A. D. 1483.

The news of this ſurpriſing turn of affairs were brought to Richard at Leiceſter, and he immediately (October 23) iſſued a proclamation, granting a pardon to all the common people who ſhould deſert their leaders, and offering great rewards to any who ſhould apprehend the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Dorſet, the biſhops of Ely and Saliſbury, and ſeveral knights and gentlemen, who are therein named. For the duke, he offered £1000 in money, or £100 a-year in land—for Proclamation.

64 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 203.

65 Hall, f. 15. Stow, p. 465. Holingſh. p. 1403.

A. D. 1483. the marquis and each of the biſhops, 1000 marks in money, or 100 marks a-year in land—for each of the knights, one half of that ſum [66]. In this curious proclamation, the immaculate Richard expreſſes the moſt violent indignation againſt whoredom, of which he ſays his enemies were notoriouſly guilty, particularly the marquis of Dorſet,—"who, to the periille of his ſoule, hath many "and ſundry maydes, wydowes, and wifes, damp-"nably, and without ſhame, devoured, deflowred, "and defouléd, holding the unſhampful and "myſchivous woman, called Shore's wife, in "adultry [67]."

Buckingham beheaded.

This proclamation had a conſiderable effect. The perfidious Banniſter, enticed by the greatneſs of the reward, diſcovered his unfortunate gueſt to John Mitton, ſheriff of Shropſhire, who apprehended and conducted him to Saliſbury; where, without any trial, he was beheaded, November 1 [68].

Inſurgents diſperſed.

The followers of the other conſpirators, enticed by the promiſe of pardon on the one hand, and diſcouraged by the diſaſter that had befallen the duke of Buckingham on the other, deſerted them; which compelled them to abandon their enterpriſe, and conſult their ſafety by flight. Some of them, as the marquis of Dorſet, the biſhops of Ely and Exeter, and a great number of knights and gentlemen, eſcaped to the continent; others took ſhelter in ſanctuaries; and others concealed themſelves in

[66] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 204. [67] Id. ibid.

[68] Hall, f. 16. Stow, p. 465. Holingſh. p. 1403. Hiſt. Croyl. p. 568.

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the country. In this manner was this formidable insurrection terminated in a few days, and without a blow [69]. A.D. 1483

In the mean time, the earl of Richmond had been very active; and having got together a small army, and a fleet of forty ships, he sailed from St. Maloe's, October 12. But on the next day his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, which drove the greatest part of it back to the continent. The earl's ship weathered the storm, and approached the coast of England near Poole, where he hovered several days in expectation of being joined by the rest of his fleet. Being disappointed in this expectation, he found himself under a necessity of abandoning his enterprise; and in his return, he was obliged to land in Normandy, where he received the disagreeable news of the dispersion of his friends in England; and on his arrival in Britanny, he there found the marquis of Dorset, and many other fugitives [70]. Richmond's attempt.

Richard, transported with joy at so many fortunate events, marched from Salisbury, November 2, at the head of a gallant army, and proceeded to Exeter, reducing all those parts to order and submission, and punishing such of the leaders of the late insurrection as had been apprehended. Amongst these was his own brother-in-law, sir Thomas St. Leger, who was, with several others, executed at Exeter, though great interest was made, and a great sum of money was offered for his life [71]. Punishment.

[69] Hall, f. 16. Stow, p. 465. Holingsh. p. 1403. Hist. Croy. p. 568.
[70] Hist. Croyl. p. 568.
[71] Id. ibid.

A. D. 1483. The number of perſons executed on this occaſion was not very great; as all yeomen and common people were pardoned by the proclamation, and many of their leaders eſcaped beyond ſea, or into ſanctuaries, which every where abounded, and were eſteemed inviolable.

King returns to Weſtminſter. Richard, having reduced all to quiet, rewarded and ſent home a great part of his northern troops, on whom he had chiefly depended [72]. He then returned towards the capital, and was met at Kingſton by the mayor and aldermen, with about 500 citizens, nobly mounted and richly dreſſed, who conducted him through the city to Weſtminſter, where he celebrated the feaſt of Chriſtmas with great pomp [73].

A D. 1484. Parliament. Richard ſeemed now to be firmly ſeated on the throne, all his powerful enemies being either laid in the duſt, or driven out of the kingdom. He wiſely embraced that opportunity to call a parliament; becauſe he well knew, that in theſe circumſtances he could eaſily influence it to do what he pleaſed. This parliament met at Weſtminſter, on Friday, January 20, and made ſeveral good and popular laws; but at the ſame time effectually anſwered the political views of Richard, and did whatever he was pleaſed to dictate [74]. That petition which had been preſented to him when he aſſumed the government, was now converted into an act of parliament, declaring the marriage of Edward IV. and lady Grey illegal, and all their

[72] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 570. [73] Id. ibid. Fabian. f. 226.
[74] Statutes at Large, vol. 2. p. 54.

children

children baſtards, and ſettling the crown on Richard and his poſterity [75]. Many of the members (ſays a contemporary hiſtorian) were influenced by fear to give their conſent to that act [76]. All perſons of any note, who had been concerned in the late inſurrections, were attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated; which brought a prodigious acceſſion both of power and wealth to the crown [77]. A.D. 1484.

Oath.

During the ſitting of this parliament, one day in the month of February, Richard aſſembled all the members of both houſes in a certain room in his palace, and there produced to them, in writing, an oath, to ſupport the ſucceſſion of his ſon, Edward prince of Wales, to the crown, which he engaged or obliged them all both to ſwear and ſubſcribe [78].

The queen leaves the ſanctuary.

This parliament had the cruelty (at whoſe inſtigation it may be eaſily gueſſed) to ſtrip the queen-dowager of all the eſtates that had been ſettled upon her by the late king, and confirmed to her by parliament [79]. That unhappy princeſs, reduced to poverty as well as overwhelmed with diſgrace, and ſeeing no proſpect of relief from either, began to liſten to Richard's perſuaſions, to leave the ſanctuary, and to put herſelf and her five daughters into his hands. To encourage her to do this, he took a ſolemn oath in the houſe of peers, March 1, —"That if ſhe would come to him out of the "ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, he would provide for "her and for her daughters as his kinſwomen;

[75] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 385, &c.
[76] Hiſt. Croyl, p. 570. [77] Id. ibid. [78] Id. ibid.
[79] Buck, apud Kennet, p. 528, Note.

A. D. 1484. "and they ſhould be in no danger of their lives: "and that he would allow her 700 marks a-year, "and her daughters 200 marks a-piece for their "portions in marriage, and would take care to "marry them to gentlemen [80]." How diſhonourable a tranſaction was this! a king of England ſwearing before his ſpiritual and temporal lords, that he would not murder five innocent young ladies, the daughters of his own brother, and of their late ſovereign? how pitiful a proviſion did Richard propoſe to make for his unhappy nieces, who he knew had lately ſtood contracted to the greateſt princes in Europe; and yet ſuch was the diſtreſs of the wretched queen, that ſhe accepted theſe humiliating terms, and truſted her own life and the lives of her daughters to the ſecurity of Richard's oath.

Death of Edward prince of Wales.

Richard ſoon found, that the greateſt proſperity could not ſecure him from the deepeſt diſtreſs. After the diſſolution of parliament, he made a progreſs, with his queen and court, into the north; and at Nottingham received the afflictive news, that his only legitimate child, Edward prince of Wales, on whom he doted, had died at Middleham caſtle, April 9, after a ſhort illneſs [81]. Both Richard and his queen were ſo much affected with this news, that, as a contemporary hiſtorian tells us, they almoſt run mad [82].

[80] Buck, apud Kennet, p. 528. Note. [81] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 571.

[82] Id. ibid. This is a literal tranſlation of the words of the hiſtorian of Croyland, who lived at no great diſtance from Nottingham, and had probably heard of ſome of their actions or words, which indicated that the exceſs of their grief had in ſome degree diſordered their minds.

Richard

A. D. 1484.

Earl of Richmond flees to France.

Richard was ſoon rouſed from this exceſſive ſorrow for his ſon, by receiving intelligence from his ambaſſador at the court of Britanny, that the earl of Richmond and the Engliſh exiles were meditating another attempt againſt his government. To prevent, if poſſible, that attempt, he directed his ambaſſador to renew his negotiations with the duke of Britanny, or rather with his favourite Peter Landois, for the delivery of the earl of Richmond into his hands. Francis II. duke of Britanny, the generous protector of the exiled earl, had for ſome time been in a declining ſtate of health, which had impaired his capacity for buſineſs, and made him commit the management of all his affairs to his favourite, who was at length overcome by the ſplendid offers of the king of England; and a bargain was ſtruck for the ſurrender of the earl of Richmond [83]. Though this negotiation was conducted with great ſecrecy, John Morgan, biſhop of Ely, got a hint of it, which he communicated to the earl, who fled into France, and was followed by the Engliſh exiles [84]. The fugitives were kindly received by madam de Beaujeu, who had the chief direction of the affairs of France, during the minority of her brother Charles VIII.; and were encouraged to hope for aſſiſtance.

Richard's precautions.

In the mean time, Richard, not truſting wholly to his foreign negotiations, made every poſſible preparation for giving his enemies a warm reception, if they landed. To ſecure the attachment

[83] Argentri, l. 13. c. 26.

[84] Id. ibid. Philip de Comines, l. 5. c. 18. p. 437. Hiſtoire de France, par Garnier, tom. 19. p. 394, &c.

A.D. 1484. of the Yorkiſts, he declared his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, eldeſt ſon of his ſiſter Eliſabeth, and of John duke of Suffolk, his heir and ſucceſſor [85]. That he might have no other enemies upon his hands, he concluded a truce with James III. king of Scotland, for three years, September 21; and at the ſame time, a marriage was agreed upon between James prince of Scotland, and his niece the lady Ann of Suffolk [86]. To gain intelligence of the deſigns of his enemies abroad, he employed many ſpies—he ſtationed men and horſes on all the principal roads in England, at the diſtance of about twenty miles from one another, to bring him the news of any landing on the coaſts, or commotion in the country—and he fitted out a fleet to guard the ſeas. To increaſe the zeal of his northern friends, on whom he chiefly depended, he granted them many of the forfeited eſtates in the ſouth, on which they ſettled, and acted as ſpies upon their diſaffected neighbours [87]. Having taken theſe prudent precautions, he returned to London, September 29, and celebrated the feaſt of Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter, with uncommon ſplendour [88].

A.D. 1485. Raiſes money by benevolence.

On Epiphany, January 6, as Richard, in his royal robes, with his crown on his head, was celebrating that feſtival, he received intelligence from one of his ſpies abroad, that the earl of Richmond would moſt certainly invade England next ſpring or ſummer. He affected to rejoice at this news,

[85] Buck, p. 535.
[86] Rym. Fœd. t. 12. p. 235, &c.
[87] Hiſt Croyl. p 571.
[88] Id. ibid.

as

as it would give him an opportunity (he ſaid) of cruſhing all his enemies. But when he came to inquire, he found his exchequer was low, and that he was but ill provided with the ſinews of war. For though he had ſuppreſſed the late inſurrections without any expence of blood, it was not without much expence of treaſure, of which he had not been ſparing. To repleniſh his exhauſted coffers, he had recourſe to that mode of raiſing money called *benevolence*, againſt which an act had been made in the very laſt parliament [89]. This meaſure was as imprudent as it was illegal: eſpecially as the perſons employed by him to ſolicit, or rather to demand theſe benevolences, acted, as it is ſaid, in a very tyrannical manner; which diminiſhed Richard's popularity in ſome part of the kingdom, and increaſed the prevailing odium againſt him in others [90]. A. D. 1485.

Richard propoſes to marry the princeſs Eliſabeth.

The queen-conſort, who had for ſome months been in a declining ſtate of health, died March 16; and though Richard hath been boldly charged by many of our hiſtorians with the guilt of haſtening her death by various means, there is certainly no evidence that he committed that crime [91]. He was not, however, ignorant, that the plan of his enemies was, to unite the houſes of York and Lancaſter, by a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Eliſabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. and that all Richmond's hopes of ſucceſs de-

89 Statutes at Large, vol. 2. p. 54.

90 Hiſt. Croyl. p. 571, 577.

91 Id. p. 572. Hall f. 24, 25. Stow, p. 467. Rapin. vol. 1. p. 644. See Mr. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 74.

pended

A.D. 1485. pended on the execution of that plan. Being now a widower, he formed the deſign of defeating that ſcheme, by marrying the princeſs himſelf; and we have even ſome reaſon to believe, that he had formed that deſign when he ſaw his queen in a languiſhing way; and that he had conveyed ſome hints of his intention to the princeſs, who had appeared at court at Chriſtmas every day in the ſame dreſs with the queen [92]. However that may be, it is certain, that kings court the fair with great advantage, and the luſtre of a crown is apt to dazzle the brighteſt eyes. Both the young princeſs and the queen her mother conſented to this unnatural alliance, with a man who had done them the moſt cruel injuries, but now inticed them by the moſt tempting promiſes. The queen communicated the deſign to her ſon the marquis of Dorſet, who was at Paris with the earl of Richmond, and intreated him to return to England to receive the honours that had been promiſed him by Richard [93].

Earl of Richmond lands at Milford-haven.

The news of this intended marriage alarmed the earl of Richmond, and made him haſten his preparations for invading England. He had been lately joined by the brave John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who had been twelve years a priſoner in the caſtle of Hams in Picardy—by ſir James Blount, governor of that caſtle—ſir John Forteſcue, porter of Calais—and by ſeveral young Engliſh gentlemen, who were ſtudents in the univerſity of Paris; who, with the Engliſh exiles and about 2000 French adventurers, made up an army of about 3000 men [94]. With

[92] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 572. [93] Id. ibid. [94] Polidore Virgil. p. 526, 527. Hall, f. 25. Stow, p 468.

this

this ſmall army, Henry earl of Richmond ſailed from Harfleur in Normandy, Auguſt 1, and landed at Milford-haven on the 7th day of that month [95]. A. D. 1485.

Though Richard had received intelligence of the intended invaſion from his ſpies, he never could diſcover in what part of the kingdom his enemies deſigned to land; which threw him into great perplexity. His mind was alſo haunted with tormenting doubts and fears of the infidelity of almoſt all around him; and he knew not whom to truſt. His ſuſpicions were particularly ſtrong of his great friend Thomas lord Stanley, conſtable of England, becauſe he was married to Margaret counteſs of Richmond, his competitor's mother; and though that nobleman made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, he was obliged to leave his eldeſt ſon, George lord Strange, as a hoſtage, before he could obtain permiſſion to go into the country to raiſe his followers. Having ſent his chief confident, lord Lovel, to Southampton, to equip a fleet, he took his ſtation at Nottingham, from whence he iſſued proclamations to all his ſubjects to join his ſtandard denouncing deſtruction on thoſe who did not obey [96]. Here he received the news of the landing of his enemies, and of the ſmallneſs of their number, and contented himſelf with ſending orders to ſir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, two powerful chieftains in Wales, to raiſe their followers, and drive the invaders out of the kingdom [97]. But he paid dear for this contempt of his enemies. He ſent his commands to lord Stan- Richard's perplexities and preparations.

[95] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 573. [96] Id. ibid. [97] Id. ibid. Hall, f. 27.

ley

A.D. 1485. ley to join him immediately with his troops; but that nobleman pretending that he was ill of the ſweating-ſickneſs, which raged at that time, begged a ſhort delay. His ſon, lord Strange, attempting to eſcape from court, was apprehended and brought back; and, to ſave his life, diſcovered his father's deſign to join the earl of Richmond, and at the ſame time engaged to reconcile and bring him and his forces to Richard [93].

Earl of Richmond's progreſs.

As ſoon as the earl of Richmond landed, he ſent meſſengers to his friends to collect their followers and come to his aſſiſtance; and having refreſhed his men, he marched to Haverford-weſt, and from thence to Pembroke and Cardigan; at all which places he was joyfully received. Here he was joined by Richard Griffith and Richard App Thomas, two Welſh gentlemen, with their friends. Though he had hitherto received no great acceſſion of ſtrength, he had met with no oppoſition; but he was now informed that ſir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas with a conſiderable body of men, were at Cairmarden, determined to obſtruct his progreſs; which cauſed a great alarm in his little army. He found means, however, to prevail upon Rice App Thomas, by a promiſe of the government of Wales, to join him with his followers; which ſo much diſcouraged ſir Walter Herbert, that he ſuffered him to paſs without any moleſtation [94]. The earl then proceeded upon his march, and at Newport, in Shropſhire, he was joined by ſir George Talbot, at the head of 2000 men, the vaſ-

[93] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 573. [94] Hall, f. 27.

ſals

ſals of his nephew the young earl of Shrewſbury, A.D. 1485.
which made his army amount to more than 6000 [100]. At Stafford he had a private interview with ſir William Stanley, lord Stanley's brother, who had raiſed 2000 men; and at that interview the future motions of lord Stanley and ſir William were contrived in ſuch a manner as to make Richard believe they intended to join him, and at the ſame time to have it in their power to join Henry, when they could do him the moſt effectual ſervice [101]. In conſequence of this concert, lord Stanley, who was at Litchfield with 5000 men, evacuated that place, and retired to Aderſtone at the approach of Richmond; which made the king give credit to his profeſſions of loyalty.

When Richard received intelligence of the defection of Rice App Thomas, and the inaction of ſir Walter Herbert, he began to apprehend that this invaſion would prove more dangerous than he had imagined. Though many of his forces were not yet arrived, he marched from Nottingham to Leiceſter, at the head of an army of about 15,000 men; which (if the troops had been all hearty in the cauſe, and he had been joined by lord Stanley, and his brother ſir William, as he expected) was more than ſufficient to have cruſhed the earl of Richmond and his adherents. On Sunday, Auguſt 22, he marched out of Leiceſter, in great pomp, with the crown on his head, and encamped that evening at the abbey of Merrival; not far from Boſworth [102]. Battle of Boſworth.

[100] Hall, f. 27. Stow, p. 468. [101] Id. ibid. [102] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 574.

A. D. 1485. The earl of Richmond encamped, the ſame evening, ſo near, that ſeveral gentlemen deſerted to him in the night; which filled the royal army with mutual diffidence and ſuſpicion. On Monday, Auguſt 23, both princes drew up their troops, each in two lines, to decide this important quarrel. Lord Stanley took his ſtation on one wing, oppoſite to the interval between the two armies, and ſir William Stanley on the other. The battle was begun by the archers of both armies; but ſoon became more cloſe. Richard's troops in general, it is ſaid, diſcovered no great ſpirit or alacrity; and the earl of Northumberland and his men did not ſtrike one ſtroke. But it was lord Stanley who, by falling on the flank of the royal army, turned the balance in favour of the earl of Richmond. When Richard obſerved this, and diſcovered his rival at no great diſtance, he determined to put an end to the conteſt by his own death, or that of his competitor: and, putting ſpurs to his horſe, attended by a few of his moſt gallant followers, cut his way through every obſtacle, unhorſing ſir John Cheyne, and killing ſir William Brandon, Richmond's ſtandard-bearer, with his own hand. But when he was on the point of aſſaulting Henry's perſon (who neither courted nor declined the combat), he was overwhelmed by numbers, thrown to the ground, and ſlain in the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he had reigned two years and about two months [103].

Conſequences. Though this was one of the moſt deciſive battles that ever was fought, it was neither long nor bloody;

[103] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 574 Fabian, f. 227. Hall, f. 33. Stow. p. 479.

about

about one thouſand (according to the moſt probable accounts) being ſlain, on the vanquiſhed, and very few on the victorious ſide [104]. Of the great men among the loyaliſts, fell John Howard duke of Norfolk, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartley, with a few knights and gentlemen [105]. Sir William Cateſby, one of Richard's greateſt confidents, was taken, and, with a few others, beheaded. The king's body was ſtripped naked, tied acroſs a horſe behind one of the heralds, and carried to Leiceſter, where, after it had been expoſed to the view of the public, for a few days, it was buried in the church of the Greyfriars with very little ceremony [106]. A. D. 1485.

Richard III. if we may believe many of our hiſtorians, was a kind of monſter, both in mind and body. "The tyrant king Richard (ſays John "Rous of Warwick, his contemporary) was born "at Fothringay in Northamptonſhire. Having "remained two years in his mother's womb, he "came into the world with teeth, and long hair "down to his ſhoulders [107]." What he adds is probably more agreeable to truth—"He was of a "low ſtature, having a ſhort face, with his right "ſhoulder a little higher than his left;" a picture which was wrought up into abſolute deformity by ſubſequent hiſtorians, but contradicted by the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs of undoubted credit [108]. Character of Richard III.

[104] Hall, f. 33. [105] The duke of Norfolk was warned of his danger that morning by the following lines:

John of Norfolk be not too bold,
Dicken thy maſter is bought and ſold

[106] Sandford, p. 434. [107] T. Roſſii apud Leland Hen. Itin. vol. 10. p. 215. [108] The counteſs of Deſmond.

That,

A. D. 1485. That he poſſeſſed perſonal courage in a very high degree, his enemies could not deny, though they confeſſed it with reluctance. "If I may venture "to ſay any thing to his honour, though he was a "little man, he was a noble and valiant ſoldier[109]." He was much admired for his eloquence and powers of perſuaſion, which were almoſt irreſiſtible, eſpecially when they were aided by his bounty, which, on ſome occaſions, was exceſſive[110]. His underſtanding was certainly good; but he was rather a cunning than a wiſe man, impenetrably ſecret, and a perfect maſter of all the arts of diſſimulation. Ambition was his ruling paſſion. It was this that prompted him to ſupplant his helpleſs nephew, in order to ſeize his crown; and when he had formed that deſign, he ſeems to have ſtuck at nothing to ſecure its ſucceſs. That he was guilty of the cool deliberate murder of the earl Rivers, the lords Grey and Haſtings, becauſe he apprehended they would oppoſe his attempt upon the throne, cannot be denied. That he murdered alſo his two nephews, Edward V. and the duke of York, or one of them, I do not affirm, becauſe I cannot prove it; and all the accounts that are given of the circumſtances of the death of theſe two princes, I confeſs, are liable to great objections[111]. But though all theſe accounts may be falſe in ſome particulars, the principal fact may be true; and it is certainly not improbable.

[109] T. Roſſii Hiſt. p. 218. [110] Hiſt. Croyl. p. 557.
[111] See Mr. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 51, &c.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I. PART II.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of Scotland, from A. D. 1399, to the acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488.

SECTION I.

From A. D. 1399, *to the acceſſion of James* II. A. D. 1437.

ROBERT III. the ſecond prince of the family of Stuart, had been ſeated about nine years on the throne of Scotland, at the acceſſion of Henry IV. to that of England[1]. Robert was a good man, of a mild and gentle ſpirit; but having been A. D. 1399. Robert III.

[1] See vol. 7. b 4. ch. 8 § 5.

A.D. 1399. rendered lame, by the ſtroke of a horſe, in his youth, he affected a retired life, and committed the adminiſtration of affairs to his brother Robert duke of Albany [2].

Death of prince David. The profligacy of David prince of Scotland and duke of Rothſay, gave great concern to his royal parents, brought ruin on himſelf, and many calamities on his country. He was contracted, A. D. 1400, to the lady Eliſabeth Dunbar, daughter of George earl of March, and ſome part of the lady's fortune paid. But Archibald, called *The Grim*, the rich and potent earl of Douglas, interpoſed, alleging that the contract was illegal, as the nobility had not been conſulted; and making an offer of his own daughter, the lady Marjory, with a larger fortune, his offer was accepted, and the marriage celebrated in the caſtle of Bothwell [3]. Matrimony made no reformation in the manners of this unhappy prince. On the contrary, after the death of his mother, queen Annabella, he became more and more licentious. The king had committed him to the care of certain noblemen, who were conſtantly to attend him, to reſtrain his ſallies, and attempt his reformation; but they ſoon reſigned their charge as hopeleſs. By the advice of ſir William Lindſay of Roſſy, and ſir John Remorgencey, two of his counſellors, the king ſent a mandate to his brother the duke of Albany, to put the prince under confinement for ſome time, in hopes that by this act of ſeverity he might be reclaimed. The gentlemen who gave this advice, being no friends to the prince,

[2] Scoticronicon, lib. 15. c. 14. [3] Id. ibid. c. 10.

carried

carried the mandate to the duke, and both prompted him to and aſſiſted him in its execution. The prince was accordingly apprehended as he was on his way to St. Andrew's, with a few attendants, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of that city for the king, on the death of the late biſhop Walter Trail. He was kept a few days in that caſtle, and from thence conducted to Falkland, and confined in a ſmall room in the palace, where he died on Eaſter day, A. D. 1401 [4]. The manner of his death is not certainly known. It was given out, that he died of a dyſentery; but it was rumoured, and generally believed, that he was ſtarved to death. A. D. 1401.

This affair was agitated in a parliament held at Edinburgh in May A. D. 1402; and by a ſolemn act under the great ſeal, it was declared—that the prince *had died by divine providence, and no otherwiſe*—that the king and parliament approved of his impriſonment as neceſſary for the public good—and that if the king had entertained any ill-will againſt his brother the duke of Albany, or his ſon-in-law the earl of Douglas, or any of their agents, on account of their conduct towards the late prince, he now laid it aſide, and held them to be good and loyal ſubjects [5]. But whether this act and declaration was obtained by the power, or by the innocence of the duke and earl, may be doubted. A. D. 1402. Parliament.

The earl of March was ſo much enraged at the affront put upon his family, by the breach of the contract between prince David and his daughter, Earl of March revolt.

[4] Scotieronicon, lib. 15. c 12. [5] See Remarks on the Hiſtory of Scotland by Sir David Dalrymple, c. 19.

A. D. 1402. that he retired into England, and entered into a negotiation with Henry IV. which terminated in his ſwearing fealty to that prince, who granted to him and his heirs the lordſhip of Somerton in Lincolnſhire, and the manor of Clipſton, for his life[6]. That nobleman then ſent for his family and followers into England, and for ſeveral years was an inveterate enemy to his country, guiding and aſſiſting the Engliſh in all their incurſions, which were very frequent, but too inconſiderable to be particularly related. The moſt fatal of thoſe calamities he brought upon his country were, the defeat of the Scots at Niſbet-muir, A. D. 1401, and the ſtill greater defeat at Hamildon, A. D. 1402, which hath been already mentioned[7].

A. D. 1405. Prince James taken. Whatever opinion Robert III. entertained concerning the death of his eldeſt ſon prince David, it is no wonder that he became anxious for the ſafety of his youngeſt and only remaining hope, prince James. That young prince, with Henry Percy, heir to the earl of Northumberland, and ſome other young noblemen, reſided in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, under the tuition of that generous and hoſpitable prelate Henry Wardlaw. At length, the king reſolved to ſend him to the court of the ancient ally of his country and family, the king of France, that he might be out of danger, and receive an education ſuitable to his rank, and the ſtation he was deſigned to fill. A ſhip being provided, the prince, his governor, Henry Sinclair

[6] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 133. 153.
[7] Scoticronicon, l. 15. c. 13, 14.

earl

earl of Orkney, and other attendants, embarked and ſet ſail for France, with letters of recommendation to Charles VI. This proved a moſt unfortunate voyage; the prince and all his ſuit were ſeized by the Engliſh on the coaſt near Flamborough-head, April 12, A.D. 1405, end carried priſoners to London[8]. This happened about a week before the termination of a truce between the two kingdoms, and conſequently was not ſtrictly legal; but the truces in thoſe times were in general very ill obſerved; and nothing was more common than to begin hoſtilities a few days or weeks before they expired[9]. A. D. 1405.

Though the news of the captivity of his only ſon muſt have been very afflictive to the king, he did not abſtain from food, and expire a few days after he received them, as is aſſerted by ſeveral of our hiſtorians[10]. There is the cleareſt evidence that he ſurvived that event almoſt a year, and did not die till April 4, A. D. 1406[11]. His character hath been already given. A. D. 1406. Death of Robert III.

A parliament was held at Perth, in June A. D. 1406, by which James I. a priſoner in England, was acknowledged and proclaimed king, and his uncle Robert duke of Albany was appointed regent[12]. Beſides the king, Archibald earl of Douglas, Murdoch earl of Fife, the regent's eldeſt ſon, and many others of the Scotch nobility, Duke of Albany regent.

[8] Scoticron. l. 15. c. 18. Winton, Annotationes ad Buchan. p. 436. [9] Rym Fœd. tom. 8. p. 363.
[10] Scoticron. l. 15. c. 18. Buchan. l. 10.
[11] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 430. Annot. ad Buchan. p. 436.
[12] Id. ibid.

A.D. 1406. knights and gentlemen, who had been taken at the battles of Niſbet-muir, Hamildon, and Shrewſbury, were at this time priſoners in England; and the hiſtory of Scotland for ſeveral years, conſiſts chiefly of negotiations for the deliverance of theſe priſoners, and for ſhort truces with the neighbouring kingdom [13]. The regent had been ſo long accuſtomed to the exerciſe of ſovereignty, that he ſeems to have contracted a fondneſs for it, and diſcovered no deſire to procure the liberty of his nephew, who, for ſeveral years, was almoſt entirely neglected, while the moſt ſtrenuous efforts were made for the deliverance of the other priſoners.

A. D. 1409. Earl of March returns to Scotland.

George Dunbar, earl of March (who had received many valuable grants from the king of England, which he had richly merited by his ſervices), on ſome diſguſt, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of returning to his native country; in which he was favoured by the regent; who, by his own authority, without conſulting either the king or parliament, reſtored him to his honours, and the greateſt part of his eſtate, A. D. 1409 [14]. The truth is, the regent conſidered himſelf as poſſeſſed of all the powers of a king without exception; and in a letter to the king of England,

A. D. 1410. May 6, A. D. 1410, he ſtyles himſelf, regent of Scotland, by the grace of God; and calls the people of Scotland his ſubjects [15].

A. D. 141. Battle of Harlaw.

Henry IV. made it his ſtudy to foment diviſions amongſt the Scots, and ſtir up enemies againſt

[13] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8.
[14] Scoticron. lib. 15, c. 21.
[15] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 835.

them,

them. Donald, lord of the Iſles, who affected a kind of independency, being greatly enraged againſt the regent for depriving him of the earldom of Roſs, to which he claimed a right; Henry entered into a negotiation with him as an independent prince, animated him to ſeek redreſs by arms, and promiſed him his aſſiſtance[16]. Encouraged by ſo great an ally, Donald raiſed an army, took poſſeſſion of the diſputed earldom, being favoured by its vaſſals; and finding himſelf at the head of 10,000 men, he advanced into the fertile province of Moray, burning and plundering every thing in his way towards the city of Aberdeen; with the ſpoils of which he intended to enrich his followers. But Alexander earl of Marr having raiſed an army in the country between the rivers Spey and Tay, met the invaders at the village of Harlaw, about ten miles from Aberdeen; where a bloody battle was fought, July 24, A. D. 1411, to which night rather than victory put an end. The loſs on both ſides was ſo great, that both armies retreated the day after, without diſcovering any inclination to renew the action. The regent, next year, purſued the lord of the Iſles, and obliged him to make his ſubmiſſion[17]. A. D. 14

The earl of March and his family, after their return into their native country, were zealous and active in its ſervice. Patrick Dunbar, one of the earl's ſons, took the ſtrong fortreſs of Faſtcaſtle A. D. 1410, and made the governor (who was a Services of the March family.

[16] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 428. 527.
[17] Scoticron. l. 15. c. 21.

A. D. 1411. cruel plunderer of the country) priſoner; and Gavin Dunbar, another of his ſons, plundered and burnt the town of Roxburgh; but could not attempt the caſtle [18].

Earl of Douglas liberated. After many negotiations, Archibald earl of Douglas obtained his liberty; and, returning into Scotland, was reconciled to his ancient enemy the earl of March, and joined with him in a commiſſion to negotiate a peace or truce with England, in May 1411 [19].

A. D. 1412. Truce. Though the regent neglected his captive ſovereign, he laboured earneſtly to procure the deliverance of his own ſon from captivity; and when the negotiations for that purpoſe were almoſt brought to perfection, they were interrupted by the death of Henry IV. March 20, A. D. 1413 [20]. But a truce between the two kingdoms had been concluded, and proclaimed May 17, A. D. 1412, to continue till Eaſter A. D. 1418.

James I. ill treated. It muſt have been very diſcouraging to the young monarch, James I. to ſee himſelf ſo ſhamefully abandoned by his family and ſubjects, as he was in the firſt years of his captivity. We hear of no complaints they made of his detention, though it was illegal, of no attempts for his deliverance, of no money remitted for his ſupport, of no friend ſent to comfort him in his diſtreſs. He ſeems alſo to have been harſhly treated for ſome time by Henry IV. who refuſed him the title of king after his father's death, and kept him a cloſe priſoner in the

[18] Scoticron. l. 15. c. 21. Buchan. lib. 10. p. 182.

[19] Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 682.

[20] Id. ibid. p. 708. 735. tom. 9. p. 1.

tower

tower of London more than two years [21]. But it was happy for this prince that he was bleſſed with an uncommon genius and ardent thirſt for knowledge of all kinds, which enabled him to paſs his time in his confinement both uſefully and agreeably, and to acquire ſuch a variety of accompliſhments as few princes in any age or country have poſſeſſed. A. D. 1412.

Soon after the acceſſion of Henry V. a negotiation was ſet on foot for the deliverance of the king of Scotland from his captivity; and a ſafe-conduct was granted by Henry, April 16, A. D. 1413, to continue to Lammas thereafter, to five commiſſioners from Scotland to remain in England, where they then were, to treat with him about that deliverance [22]. But whether theſe commiſſioners were appointed by the eſtates of the kingdom, or by the regent, or what they did in conſequence of their commiſſion, we are not informed; only we know that their negotiations were ineffectual. A ſafe conduct was granted to ſix other commiſſioners, July 16, in the ſame year, for the ſame purpoſe; but their efforts were equally unſucceſsful [23]. It appears from another ſafe-conduct granted to ſir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, December 19, in the ſame year, that he alſo was employed in the ſame negotiations, and continued them to the 1ſt day of February 1414, when his ſafe conduct expired [24]. Theſe facts afford ſufficient evidence that the Scots were, at that time, ſincerely deſirous of A. D. 1413. Negotiation. A. D. 1414.

21 Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 484. 22 Id. tom. 9. p. 5.
23 Id. ibid. p. 40. 24 Id. ibid. p. 79.

obtaining

A. D. 1414. obtaining the deliverance of their ſovereign; and that, if the regent did not promote, he could not prevent, thoſe ſteps they took to accompliſh that end.

A. D. 1416. Treaty between Henry and James. After theſe efforts of his ſubjects had failed, James concluded a perſonal treaty with Henry, for permiſſion to go into his own dominions, and to ſtay in them a certain time, upon giving ſufficient hoſtages for the payment of 100,000 marks, if he did not return into England at the ſtipulated time. An indenture to that purpoſe was ſealed by both kings; and Henry granted a commiſſion, December 8, A. D. 1416, to the biſhop of Durham, the earls of Northumberland or Weſtmoreland, to take James's oath that he would return or pay the money, to receive the hoſtages, and to judge of their ſufficiency. At the ſame time he granted ſafe-conducts to the earls of Athole, Fife, Douglas, Marr, and Crawford, the biſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſgow, George ſon and heir to the earl of March, and ſir William de Graham (who were probably the intended hoſtages), to come into England[25]. But after all theſe preparations, that treaty was never executed; and James continued in his confinement during the whole reign of Henry V.

Earl of Fife liberated. The duke of Albany was more ſucceſsful in his endeavours to procure the freedom of his eldeſt ſon Murdoch earl of Fife; who was exchanged, A. D. 1415, for Henry Percy, grandſon to the

[25] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 417, 418.

late

late earl of Northumberland, and ſon of the famous Hotſpur [26]. A. D. 1416.

The hoſtilities between the two Britiſh nations on the borders were interrupted by frequent truces during the whole reign of Henry V. For it was the wiſe policy of that great prince, to keep the Scots as quiet as poſſible, while he was engaged in his grand undertaking of acquiring the crown of France. The moſt conſiderable of theſe hoſtilities happened A. D. 1417, when the Scots inveſted both Berwick and Roxburgh at the ſame time; but, on the approach of the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, at the head of a formidable army, they raiſed both the ſieges [27]. A. D. 1417. Hoſtilities on the borders.

But though the Scots did not give Henry V. much diſquiet in Britain, they gave him no little oppoſition on the continent. Charles, dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VII. being reduced to great diſtreſs, by the unnatural union of his delirious father, his implacable mother, and his enraged couſin the duke of Burgundy, with the king of England, ſent the earl of Vendoſme into Scotland, A. D. 1419, to implore the aſſiſtance of the ancient allies of his country. The regent and eſtates, convinced that if France and England came to be united under one ſovereign, Scotland could not long preſerve its independency, granted an aid of 7000 men, who were ſoon raiſed and ſent into France, under the command of John earl of Buchan, the regent's ſecond ſon, Archibald earl of Wigton, A. D. 1419. Scots aſſiſt the French.

[26] Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 323, 324.

[27] Walſing. p. 392. Drake's Hiſt. Anglo Scotica, p. 196, 197.

eldeſt

A.D. 1419. eldeſt ſon to the earl of Douglas, and ſeveral other barons.

A.D. 1421. Battle of Baugé. Theſe troops had the honour to give the firſt check to the Engliſh arms, by the illuſtrious victory they obtained at Baugé, 23d March A. D. 1421[28]. The pope, Martin V. when he heard of this victory, ſaid,—"the Scots are the beſt anti-"dote againſt the Engliſh[29]." The dauphin expreſſed his gratitude for this important ſervice, by beſtowing the high office of conſtable on the earl of Buchan, a valuable eſtate on the earl of Wigton, and ſuitable rewards on the other leaders[30].

Death and character of the duke of Albany. Robert duke of Albany did not live to hear of the fame acquired by his ſon and countrymen, at the battle of Baugé; having died at Stirling, about ſix months before that action in the eightieth year of his age. A contemporary hiſtorian, who, from his ſtation and ſituation, muſt have been well acquainted with him, gives this prince an excellent character. "In his perſon, he was uncommonly "tall and handſome; his hair and complexion were "fair, and his countenance ſweet and amiable. "He was wiſe in council and brave in action; "eloquent in public aſſemblies, and pleaſent in "private converſation. In his manners, he was "mild, affable, and gracious; and more ſplendid "and hoſpitable (eſpecially to ſtrangers) in his "way of living, than any other perſon[31]." That he was ambitious and fond of power, cannot be

[28] Ford. Scoticron. lib. 15. c. 31. 33. [29] Id. ibid.
[30] Hiſt. Fran. par Villar, tom. 14. p. 122. Hume of Godſcroft, p. 127. [31] Scoticron. lib. 15. c. 37.

doubted; but whether or not his ambition prompted him to put his nephew prince David to death, is one of thoſe hiſtorical problems that never will be clearly ſolved. He was ſucceeded as duke of Albany, and regent of the kingdom, by his eldeſt ſon, Murdoch earl of Fife. A. D. 1421.

Efforts of Henry V. to detach the Scots from their French alliance.

Henry V. exerted all his policy to prevent the Scots from oppoſing him in the execution of his favourite project, the conqueſt of France. In his ſecond expedition into that country, finding an army of Scots, in the field againſt him, he ſent for his priſoner, the king of Scotland, in hopes that his perſonal preſence in his army, and the uſe of his name, would prevail upon his ſubjects to return home. But in this he was diſappointed. For though the leaders of the Scots profeſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon of their king, they denied that he could command his ſubjects, or that they were bound to obey him, while he was a priſoner. The preſence, however, of the king of Scotland, in his army, furniſhed Henry with a pretence of putting ſuch of the Scots as fell into his hands to death as traitors [31]; for which if they had been really traitors, the king of England had no right to puniſh them. Henry employed intrigues, as well as ſeverities, to detach the Scots from the ſervice of the dauphin. He granted a ſafe-conduct to ſir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, at his camp before Milun, Auguſt 30, A. D. 1420, to come and converſe with him about certain affairs; and having converſed with him, he granted him another ſafe-

[31] Scotigron, lib. 15. c. 34.

conduct,

A.D.1421. conduct, September 7, to go into Normandy to converſe with the king of Scotland [32]. The ſubjects of theſe converſations or negotiations are not certainly known; but it is moſt probable that they related to that very extraordinary treaty that was finally concluded and ſealed, at London, May, 30, A. D. 1421, between Henry V. and Archibald earl of Douglas. By this treaty the earl of Douglas, at the earneſt deſire and command of his ſovereign king James, engaged to ſerve the king of England all his life, againſt all men, except the king of Scotland, with 200 men at arms, and 200 archers, at the uſual wages, and a penſion of £ 200 a-year; and the king of England in conſequence of this ſervice, engaged to permit king James to viſit his dominions for a limited time, within three months after the return of the two kings from France, for which they were to ſet out in a few weeks [33]. From this remarkable treaty (which never was executed) it plainly appears that king James earneſtly deſired to detach his ſubjects from the ſervice of the dauphin, in order to obtain his own liberty. It further appears, that king James actually engaged ſeveral of his barons to come over to him, with their followers; as Alexander lord Forbes, with forty men at arms, and ſixty other attendants; Alexander de Seton, lord of Gordon, with twenty men at arms, and ſixty other followers; William Blair, John Winton, and William de Fowls, each with a certain number of men [34]. But the great

[32] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 18, 19.
[33] Id. ibid. p. 123. [34] Id. ibid. p. 2. 153, 154, 174.

body

body of the barons and people of Scotland adhered ſteadily to the dauphin, and contributed greatly to his preſervation. A. D. 1421.

Murdoch Stewart duke of Albany, and regent of Scotland, was a weak prince, and had little authority even in his own family. Fatigued by the affairs of government, for which he was unfit, and haraſſed by the turbulent ſpirit of his three ſons, he began, it is ſaid, earneſtly to deſire the deliverance of the king. This much at leaſt is certain, that negotiations for that purpoſe commenced ſoon after the death of Henry V. and the return of king James from France. A ſafe-conduct was granted, May 12, A. D. 1423, to William biſhop of Glaſgow, George earl of March, ſir John Montgomery of Ardroſſane, ſir Patrick Dunbar of Bile, ſir Robert Lawdre of Edrington, ſir William Borthwick of Borthwick, and ſir John Forſtar of Corſtorfin, to come to Pomfret, to treat about the deliverance of the king of Scotland [35]. The commiſſioners appointed by the Engliſh council were, the biſhops of Durham and Worceſter, the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, ſir Richard Nevile, ſir Ralph Cromwell, ſir Thomas Chaworth, and two other gentlemen. The inſtructions given to theſe commiſſioners, dated July 6, contain ſome curious ſpecimens of that chicane and artifice ſo common in ſuch negotiations. King James was to be at Pomfret in the time of the treaty; and the Engliſh commiſſioners are inſtructed to make great difficulty about allowing the Scots commiſſioners to A. D. 1423. Treaty for the deliverance of king James.

[35] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 286.

A.D.1423. have a private conference with him; but at laſt to grant it as a mighty favour. They are alſo inſtructed to demand £ 40,000, for the expences of king James's maintenance in England; but if they could not obtain that ſum, to accept of £ 36,000, which was at the rate of £ 2000 a-year equivalent to about £ 20,000 of our money at preſent. They are further directed, when the Scots commiſſioners were in good humour, to introduce a diſcourſe about a perpetual peace, or long truce, between the two nations, and of a marriage between king James and ſome Engliſh lady [36]. The king of Scotland was conducted to Pomfret, where ſome progreſs was made in the treaty which was adjourned to York, where it was concluded, September 10, on the following terms: 1. That king James ſhould pay to king Henry £ 40,000 (equivalent to about £ 400,000 at preſent), for the expence of his maintenance, &c. in England, by annual payments of 10,000 marks; unleſs the duke of Exeter ſhould prevail on the king and council of England to remit the laſt 10,000 marks. 2. The Scots commiſſioners promiſed to deliver ſufficient hoſtages for the ſecurity of theſe payments; but becauſe they could not then give in the names of theſe hoſtages, it was agreed, that king James ſhould be at Braunſpath, or Durham, on the 1ſt day of March enſuing, to hold conferences with the nobility of his kingdom concerning that matter. 3. Becauſe the marriage of the king of Scotland with ſome lady of England might contribute

[36] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 294.

to

to promote peace between the two nations, it was agreed, that the regent of Scotland ſhould ſend commiſſioners to London before the 20th of October, to treat on that ſubject [37]. A.D. 1423.

It is remarkable, that the word *ranſom* is never uſed in all theſe negotiations for the deliverance of king James; and that at a time when no priſoner of importance was releaſed without paying a ranſom proportioned to his rank and wealth. This caution of the Engliſh commiſſioners, in avoiding to demand a ranſom, was certainly intended to avoid all diſcuſſions about the legality of his capture, and was a tacit acknowledgment of its illegality. No ranſom demanded.

After the return of king James from York to London, attended by his commiſſioners, ſeveral additional ſtipulations were agreed upon, December 4, A. D. 1423, chiefly reſpecting the ſecurities to be given for the payment of the £40,000. Particularly it was agreed, that each of the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, ſhould give a bond to the king of England for 50,000 marks; which bonds were to be delivered up as ſoon as the £40,000 was paid. Several regulations were made concerning the hoſtages, who were all to live at their own expence; and the following liſt of the intended hoſtages, with the annual value of their eſtates, was given in to the Engliſh council; which exhibits a curious view of the circumſtances of many of the great families of Scotland at that time. Hoſtages.

[37] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 299, 300.

A. D. 1423.

	Marks.	Equivalent to about
Thomas earl of Moray, - -	1000	£6666
Alexander earl of Crawford, -	1000	6666
William earl of Angus, - -	600	4000
Malice earl of Stratherne, - -	500	3333
George earl of March, or his eldeſt ſon,	800	5338
David, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Athol, or his ſon and heir, -	1200	8000
William, conſtable of Scotland, or his ſon and heir, - -	800	5338
Robert lord Erſkine, - -	1000	6666
Robert, mariſhal of Scotland, or his ſon and heir, - -	800	5338
Walter, lord of Dyrleton, or his ſon and heir, - - -	800	5338
John lord Seaton, or his ſon and heir,	600	4000
Sir John Montgomery of Ardroſſane,	700	4666
Alexander lord Gordon, - -	400	2666
Malcolm lord Bygare, - -	600	4000
Thomas lord Yeſter, - - -	600	4000
John Kennedy of Carrick, -	500	3333
Thomas Boyde of Kilmarnock, or his ſon and heir,	500	3333
Patrick Dunbar, lord Cardin[illegible] or his ſon and heir, -	500	3333
James lord Dalkeith, [illegible] eldeſt ſon,	1500	10,000
Duncan lord of Argyle, - -	1500	10,000
John Lyon of Glaum[illegible] -	600	4000

A. D. 1424. Other hoſtages.

Some changes were made in the above liſt before the hoſtages were finally delivered at Durham, March 28, [illegible] 24; when twenty-ſeven of the repreſentatives or heirs of the beſt families in Scotland voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves priſoners for the deliverance of their king[31]. The

[31] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 327. 337.

regent's

regent's three ſons were adverſe to that meaſure, and declined being hoſtages; which was probably one cauſe of that ſeverity with which they were treated by James after his reſtoration. A. D. 1424.

The affair of king James's marriage was ſoon ſettled. He had long before fixed his affections on the lady Jane Beaufort, a lady of great beauty, and one of the neareſt female relations of the king of England, being grand-daughter to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, by his ſon John Beaufort earl of Somerſet. Their nuptials were ſolemnized February 22, and the day after, a diſcharge, under the great ſeal, was granted to James, of the laſt 10,000 marks of the £40,000 he had engaged to pay to England [39]. King James married.

King James and his young queen, a few days after their marriage, ſet out for Durham, where they arrived, according to ſtipulation, about the 1ſt of March. James was there met by ſixty-five of the chief noblemen and gentlemen of his kingdom, and ſpent the whole month of March in ſettling every thing neceſſary to his deliverance. Amongſt other things, he gave in to the Engliſh commiſſioners four bonds, from the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, for 50,000 marks each, being the whole ſum due to England, after deducting the 10,000 marks already diſcharged [40]. He gave alſo his own bond for the whole ſum of £40,000 [41]. He further ſurrendered the following twelve hoſtages, named in the above liſt, King James at Durham.

[39] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 322.
[40] Id. ibid. p. 324. 326.
[41] Id. ibid. p. 326.

A.D. 1424. viz. David, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Athole, the earls of Moray and Crawford, Duncan lord of Argyle, William, eldeſt ſon of lord Dalkeith, Gilbert, eldeſt ſon of William conſtable of Scotland, Robert mariſhal of Scotland, Robert lord Erſkine, Walter lord Dirleton, Thomas Boyd lord of Kilmarnock, Patrick lord Cumnock, and Alexander lord Gordon[42]. Nine of thoſe named in the above liſt declined being hoſtages, or were on ſome accounts excuſed; and, in their room, James delivered the following fifteen lords and gentlemen, with a ſchedule of the annual value of their eſtates:

	Marks.	Equivalent to about
William lord Abernethy, - - -	500	£3333
James Dunbar, lord Frendraith, -	500	3333
Andrew Gray of Foulls, - -	600	4000
Robert lord Livingſtone, - -	400	2666
John Lindeſay, - -	500	3333
Robert lord Liſle, - - -	300	2000
James lord of Caldor, - - -	400	2666
James lord of Cadzo, - - -	500	3333
William lord Ruthvane, - -	400	2666
William Oliphant, lord Aberdalgy,		
George, heir of Hugh Campel, -	300	2000
Robert, heir of lord Maitland, -	400	2666
David Mienzies, - - -	200	1333
David Ogilby, - - -	200	1333
David, heir of John lord Lyon, -	300	2000

Many of our preſent nobility will be pleaſed to ſee the names of their remote anceſtors, in this liſt

[42] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 327.

of

of illuſtrious patriots, who reſigned their own liberty, to procure the freedom of their ſovereign and the good of their country. A. D. 1424.

All theſe hoſtages took a ſolemn oath on the goſpels, that they would remain in the cuſtody of the king of England till every thing agreed upon was fully executed. They were then put into the cuſtody of ſir Robert Hilton, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, and ſoon after committed to the tower of London, the caſtle of Dover, and other priſons in the ſouth of England, at a great diſtance from their friends and country[43]. In a word, the council of England acted with great rigour in the whole of this tranſaction, and took every poſſible advantage of their having the perſon of the king of Scotland in their poſſeſſion. But generoſity in political negotiations between hoſtile nations, is a very uncommon virtue. Rigour of the Engliſh council.

Before king James left Durham, he concluded a truce with England, March 28, to continue from May 1, A. D. 1424, to May 1, A. D. 1431[44]. From this truce, the Scots army then in France, commanded by the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, the earl of Douglas, duke of Touraine, and ſeveral other chieftains, was expreſsly excepted. Truce with England.

All theſe tedious tranſactions being at laſt finiſhed, king James, with his queen, and a numerous retinue of his ſubjects, ſet out from Durham, in the beginning of April A. D. 1424, and was eſcorted to the border by the noblemen and gentlemen of the north of England[45]. He took a King James arrives in Scotland.

43 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 335, 336, &c.

44 Id. ibid. p. 329, &c. 45 Id. ibid. p. 332.

A. D. 1424. ſolemn oath, on the goſpels, at Melroſs, April 5, to perform every thing to which he had agreed [46], and, by eaſy journies, arrived at Edinburgh three days after, where he was received with every poſſible demonſtration of joy, by great multitudes of his ſubjects, aſſembled to behold their ſovereign, returned from a cruel captivity of nineteen years [47].

James crowned. The neceſſary preparations being made, James and his queen were crowned at Scoon, May 21, by Henry Wardlaw, biſhop of St. Andrew's. The late regent, Murdoch duke of Albany, though certainly no favourite, was permitted to perform the honourable office which belonged to him as earl of Fife, of placing the king in the throne [48].

State of affairs. When James had leiſure to examine his affairs, he found them in a moſt deplorable diſorder. The two regents, by their exceſſive grants, in order to gain friends, had alienated ſo much of the crown-lands, and even of the private patrimony of his family, that he was ſo far from being able to pay the money owing to England, that he could hardly ſupport his houſehold in a manner ſuitable to his dignity. The reins of government had alſo been ſo much relaxed by the regents, eſpecially by duke Murdoch, that the country was a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, over-run by fierce and lawleſs plunderers, who rambled about in great bodies, lived at free quarters, and took what they pleaſed [49].

[46] Lym. Feed. p. 341, 344.
[47] Annotations in Buchan. p. 437.
[48] Scoticron. lib. 16. c. 2.
[49] Parliament 1ſt, James I. chap. 7.

To

To remedy theſe and many other diſorders, as well as to raiſe money to pay the debt owing to England, James held a parliament, which met at Perth, May 26, A. D. 1424, in the nineteenth year of his reign, though only five days after his coronation [50]. This parliament aſſigned the greater and ſmaller cuſtoms, and the rents due by burghs, for the ſupport of the royal houſehold;—appointed an inqueſt to be made by the ſheriff in each ſhire into the lands that had belonged to the crown in the three preceding reigns, in order to the reſumption of ſuch as had been alienated;—and impoſed a tax of one ſhilling in the pound on rents and goods for two years, drawn oxen, ridden horſes, and houſehold-furniture excepted, for the payment of the debt to England [51]. A. D. 1424. Parliament.

This tax, being unuſual, was unpopular, and paid with great reluctance. In the firſt year it yielded only 14,000 marks, equivalent to about £90,000 at preſent; but in the ſecond year it yielded much leſs, and excited great diſcontents among the common people [52]. This obliged king James to deſiſt from that mode of raiſing money, put it out of his power to be punctual in his payments to England, and detained the hoſtages in that country, at a great expence, longer than was intended. To render that hardſhip more intolerable to particular perſons, theſe hoſtages were exchanged from time to time, according to an article in the treaty, for others whoſe eſtates were of equal value [53]. A. D. 1425. Diſcontents.

[50] Parliament 1ſt, James I. chap. 7.
[51] Id. c. 8, 9, 10.
[52] Scot. cron. lib. 16 c. 9.
[53] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 245—249.

A. D. 1425.

Deſtruction of the Albany family.

James very ſoon began to diſcover his animoſity againſt the family of the late regent, by cauſing his eldeſt ſon, Walter, to be arreſted and impriſoned, May 13, A. D. 1424[54]. But he did not ſtop there; for, on the ninth day of his ſecond parliament, March 21, A. D. 1425, he cauſed duke Murdoch himſelf, Alexander his ſecond ſon, Duncan earl of Lenox, his father-in-law, with no fewer than twenty four other lords and gentlemen, who were friends and favourers of his family, to be arreſted[55]. All theſe priſoners were ſoon ſet at liberty, except the duke, his two ſons, and his father-in-law, the earl of Lenox, who were conducted to Stirling, where they were tried, condemned, and executed, May 24; but for what crimes we are not informed. Their trial, however, was conducted with great ſolemnity, and ſeveral lords ſat as their judges, who were their near relations, and had been lately impriſoned as their friends; which makes it probable that their condemnation was not unjuſt[56].

Inſurrection.

James, the youngeſt ſon of the duke of Albany, made his eſcape from this general wreck of his family; and having collected a band of deſperate followers, which in thoſe times was not difficult, he

[54] Scoticron. lib. 16. c. 9.

[55] Id. c. 10. Bowmaker, the contemporary hiſtorian, it muſt be confeſſed, is a very unſafe guide, being a careleſs, ill-informed writer, who ſeems to have written from his memory. In the liſt of theſe lords, he names Alexander Seaton lord Gordon, who, we know with certainty, was then a priſoner in the caſtle of York. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10 p. 349.

[56] Scoticron lib. 16. c. 10.

burnt

burnt the town of Dumbarton, and there killed ſir John Stewart of Dundonald, the king's natural uncle, with thirty-two of his men. But the king having ſent ſome forces in purſuit of the inſurgents, the lord James, with his tutor, Finlaw biſhop of Argyle, fled into Ireland, where they both died [57]. Three of his natural ſons, Andrew, Arthur, and Walter, long after came into Scotland, were legitimated by their relation, James III. A. D. 1479, and loaded with wealth and honours [58]. A. D. 1425.

By the annexation of the caſtles and eſtates of the Albany family to the crown, king James acquired a conſiderable addition both of power and wealth, which enabled him to act with greater authority, and to live with greater ſplendour. The birth of his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Margaret, about the beginning of A. D. 1425, added to his felicity [59]. James's proſperity.

King James convened his parliament at Perth, March 11, A. D. 1426, in which many excellent laws were made, which ſet both the wiſdom and patriotiſm of this prince in the faireſt point of view [60]. But in that ſtate of ſociety it was very difficult, if not impoſſible, to execute ſome of theſe laws, eſpecially in the highlands. A. D. 1426. Parliament.

King James, knowing that his preſence was neceſſary to give authority to his laws in the uncivilized parts of his dominions, commanded the caſtle of Inverneſs to be repaired, and kept his court in it, in ſummer A. D. 1427, to which he invited all A. D. 1427. James at Inverneſs.

57 Scoticron. lib. 16 c 10.
58 Annot. in Buchan. p. 458.
59 Scoticron. lib. 16. c. 11.
60 Black Acts, Parliament 3.

the

A. D. 1427. the chieftains in the neighbouring counties, received them with great civility, and entertained them with great hoſpitality, without expreſſing any diſſatisfaction at the diſorders which had reigned in thoſe parts. The report of this behaviour encouraged thoſe who had been moſt guilty to come to the caſtle, to partake of the royal entertainments. But when about fifty of them were in the caſtle, the king commanded the gates to be ſhut, and made them all priſoners. Three of the moſt noted robbers, Alexander Macrory, John Macarture, and James Campbell, the leaders of numerous bands of plunderers, were put to death; others were committed to different priſons; and thoſe who were moſt innocent, or rather leaſt guilty, were diſmiſſed with ſuitable admonitions [61]. On this occaſion, the king, it is ſaid, pronounced the following Latin lines:

Ad turrem fortem ducamus cautè cohortem
Per Chriſti fortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem.

Earl of Roſs imprisoned. Alexander lord of the Iſles and earl of Roſs, and his mother, were among thoſe who were made priſoners at this time. But after the earl had been detained a few weeks, he was admoniſhed by the king to behave in a more orderly and ſubmiſſive manner for the future than he had done formerly, and then ſet at liberty [62]. Alexander, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, paid little regard to the royal admonition.

A. D. 1428. Treaty with France. Charles VII. king of France, being reduced to great diſtreſs by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, ſent the archbiſhop of Rheims, and John Stewart,

[61] Scoticron. lib. 16. c. 15. [62] Id. ibid.

lord

lord Darnley, who commanded the remains of the Scots army in France into Scotland, A. D. 1428, to ſolicit ſuccours from his ancient allies. The ambaſſadors, according to their inſtructions, propoſed a marriage between the dauphin and the princeſs Margaret, James's eldeſt daughter, though they were both in their infancy. This marriage, after ſome oppoſition from thoſe who favoured the Engliſh intereſt, was concluded on the following terms—That the young princeſs ſhould be ſent into France, with an army of 6000 men for her fortune —that ſhe ſhould be married to the dauphin when of a proper age—that if ſhe came to be queen of France, ſhe ſhould have as large a dowry as any former queen—if ſhe was only dauphineſs, ſhe ſhould have a dowry of 15,000 livres—with various other articles, all very favourable to the princeſs. To obſerve and fulfil this treaty, king James, his queen, and chief nobility, took a ſolemn oath before the French ambaſſadors, July 27, A. D. 1428; and Charles took a ſimilar oath in October, before ambaſſadors from Scotland. Still further to attach the king of Scotland to his intereſt, Charles granted to that prince, and his heirs-male, in November the ſame year, the earldom of Xaintonge and lordſhip of Rochfort, with the privilege of paying their homage by proxy [63]. A. D. 1428.

The Engliſh miniſters, having received intelligence of this treaty, became apprehenſive of a breach with Scotland, which at that time would have been very inconvenient. To prevent this, A. D. 1429. Interview with the cardinal of Wincheſter

[63] Villar, tom. 14. p. 369. Scotieron. lib. 16. c. 23.

A. D. 1429. Henry Beaufort, the rich cardinal of Wincheſter, who was uncle to the queen of Scotland, had a perſonal interview with king James, at Durham, in the beginning of A. D. 1429; in which it is probable, he prevailed upon him to keep the truce with England, and to delay ſending the princeſs his daughter, and the ſtipulated ſuccours, into France for ſome time[64]. It is at leaſt certain, that the princeſs and theſe ſuccours were not ſent till ſome years after.

Inſurrection ſuppreſſed. Alexander lord of the Iſles and earl of Roſs, ever ſince he was ſet a liberty, had been meditating revenge for the affront of his impriſonment; and having collected all his ſtrength, he took and burnt the town of Inverneſs, but failed in his attempt upon the caſtle. The king, having raiſed an army with great expedition, purſued the earl into Lochaber, defeated and diſperſed his army, June 23, A. D. 1429, and obliged him to fly to the Iſles. There he remained ſome time, uncertain whether to retire into Ireland, or to throw himſelf on the king's mercy. At length he adopted this laſt meaſure, came privately to Edinburgh about the beginning of A. D. 1430, threw himſelf on his knees before the king, as he was at his devotion in the chapel of Holyroodhouſe, and implored his mercy. The king at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to treat him with ſeverity; but, at the earneſt intreaty of the queen, who was preſent, he granted him his life, and ſent him priſoner to the caſtle of Tantallon[65].

[64] Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 408. [65] Scoticron. lib. 16. c. 16.

The

The defeat and impriſonment of the earl of Roſs did not immediately reſtore tranquillity to the highlands and iſlands, whoſe inhabitants, in thoſe times, were exceedingly fierce and turbulent. A chieftain named Donald Balloch, nearly related to the impriſoned earl, having collected the friends and followers of the family, invaded the continent, ſurpriſed the earls of Mar and Caithneſs, ſlew the latter, and obliged the former to ſave himſelf by flight. Elated by this ſucceſs, he deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword; but on the approach of the king at the head of an army, he was abandoned by his followers, of whom 300 were taken and hanged. Donald made his eſcape into Ireland, where he was ſoon after killed, and his head ſent to the king [66]. A.D 1430. Another inſurrection.

In the midſt of thoſe tumults, the queen was delivered of two ſons, at Holyroodhouſe, October 16, A. D. 1430, who were ſoon after named Alexander and James. The king knighted the two young princes at the font, and with them a conſiderable number of young noblemen and gentlemen of the beſt families [67]. Prince Alexander died in his infancy, but James ſurvived, and ſucceeded his father. Birth of two princes.

As the truce between England and Scotland was now near expiring, the council of England granted a commiſſion, January 24, A. D. 1430, to the biſhops of Durham and Saliſbury, Henry earl of Northumberland, the lords Scroope and Greyſtoke, and four others, to treat with certain commiſſioners Truce with England.

[66] Scotic. chron. lib. 16. c. 16. [67] Id. ibid.

from

A. D. 1430. from Scotland, about prolonging the expiring truce, making a new truce, or concluding a final and perpetual peace, by the intervention of marriage, or any other honourable means [68]. From hence it is highly probable, that the Engliſh council had inſtructed their commiſſioners to endeavour to perſuade king James to break his engagements with the dauphin, and gave his daughter in marriage to the young king of England. But in that attempt, if they made it, they did not ſucceed. After a tedious negotiation, a truce for five years was concluded, December 15, A. D. 1430, to commence May 1, A. D. 1431 (when the former truce ended), and to continue to May 1, A. D. 1436 [69]. By a remarkable article in this treaty, it is provided, that if either of the kings ſent troops to the aſſiſtance of an enemy of the other king, that other king might ſeize them in going or returning, or deſtroy them when they were in the ſervice of his enemy [70]. This uncommon article was certainly inſerted at the requiſition of the king of Scotland, that he might be at liberty to ſend the ſtipulated ſuccours, with the princeſs his daughter, into France.

A. D. 1431. Wiſe policy of James. From the moment of king James's return into Scotland, he ſeems to have had two great objects in view—1. to recover and increaſe the domains of the crown—2. to eſtabliſh the authority of the laws, and reduce all his ſubjects to order and obedience. In both theſe deſigns (which were as difficult as they were neceſſary) he had now made conſiderable

[68] Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 448. [69] Id. ibid. p. 482, &c.
[70] Id. ibid. p. 490. by miſtake of the printer, for 456.

progreſs;

progreſs; but he had ſtill much to do, and proceeded with great wiſdom and ſpirit. To deliver the country, particularly the north, from thoſe numerous bands of fierce and lawleſs plunderers with which it was infeſted, he wiſely encouraged their mutual feuds, and employed one of them to deſtroy another. The clan Chattan almoſt extirpated the clan Cameron on Palm Sunday, A. D. 1430; and the year after, two famous robbers, Angus Duff and Angus Murray, at the head of their ſeveral bands, fought a kind of pitched battle in Strathnaver, with ſuch implacable fury, that only nine ſurvived of both troops, though at the beginning of the action they had conſiſted of ſeveral hundreds [71]. A. D. 1431.

After the concluſion of the truce with England, and the deſtruction of thoſe plunderers, Scotland enjoyed a conſiderable degree of peace and proſperity for ſeveral years. The king, not contented with the eſtates of the family of Albany, which he had annexed to the crown, began to lay claim to ſome others, particularly to that of George Dunbar earl of March, which had been forfeited by the earl's father, but had been reſtored by the regent Robert duke of Albany, and peaceably enjoyed by the preſent poſſeſſor above twenty years. The ground on which the king claimed that eſtate was this—that the regent had not power to pardon a traitor, or reſtore a forfeited eſtate. The king brought that affair before a parliament, which met at Perth, January 10, A. D. 1435. The parliament appointed the following members to be a A. D. 1435. Earldom of March forfeited.

[71] Scotiæron. l. 16. c. 17.

com-

A.D. 1435. committee, to hear parties, examine evidence, form an opinion, and report, viz. the abbots of Scoone and Inchcolm, John Stewart provoſt of Methven, Robert Stewart of Lorn, Thomas Sommervile of Sommervile, Walter Halyburton, John Spens of Perth, Thomas Chalmers of Aberdeen, and James Parkley of Linlithgow. The committee having heard the advocates for both parties, and maturely deliberated on the whole affair, laid an opinion before the parliament; which being adopted, the following ſentence was pronounced:—"That in con-"ſequence of the forfeiture of George Dunbar, "late earl of March, the earldom of March be-"longed to the king[72]." It is highly probable that the king was provoked to this ſeverity by the diſcovery of a ſuſpicious intercourſe between the earl of Dunbar and the Engliſh council, of which ſome evidences are ſtill remaining[73].

King reſumes the earldom of Strathearn.

King James about the ſame time reſumed the earldom of Strathearn, on this ground, that it had been granted by Robert II. to David his eldeſt ſon by his ſecond marriage, as a male-fief, which ſhould revert to the crown on the failure of heirs-male. David had left only one daughter, married to ſir Patrick Graham of the family of Kincardin, who enjoyed the title and eſtate of Strathearn to his death, and was ſucceeded in both by his ſon Malice, from whom they were now reſumed. As Malice was the king's near relation, and had been a hoſtage for him in England, he granted him the earldom of

[72] Black Acts, F. 23. p. 618. 623.

[73] Vide Rym. Fœd. tom. 10.

Monteith,

Montieth, to make him ſome amends for the loſs he had ſuſtained. But this did not ſatisfy his uncle Robert Graham, a man of ſtrong, or rather furious paſſions, who meditated a ſevere revenge. A. D. 1435.

It is difficult to diſcover the reaſons why the princeſs of Scotland, and the ſtipulated ſuccours, had not been ſent to France long before this time, according to the original treaty. It is probable, however, that this delay was by mutual conſent, as it did not occaſion any breach between the contracting parties. It is even probable that ſome part of the ſuccours had been ſent in ſmall bodies to eſcape the Engliſh. In the beginning of A. D. 1435, ambaſſadors arrived from France, to ſolicit the full accompliſhment of the treaty; and not long after the lord Scroope came ambaſſador from England to negotiate a perpetual peace between the two Britiſh nations, to be cemented by a marriage between the king of England and the princeſs of Scotland. To ſucceed in this negotiation, he made the moſt tempting offers of giving up Berwick and Roxburgh, and all the lands in debate between the two kingdoms. King James laid this important affair before his parliament, in which it occaſioned warm debates for two days. The chief ſpeakers in favour of adhering to the French alliance, were the abbots of Scoone and Inchcolm; and the great advocate for the alliance with England, was John Fogo, abbot of Melroſs. One of the diſputants hath preſerved the principal arguments on both ſides, and they are really ingenious [74]. At laſt the Debate in parliament.

[71] Scotic. chron. l. 16. c. 25.

A.D. 1435. French intereſt prevailed, and all the offers of England were rejected, which drew threats from lord Scroope, that the Engliſh would interrupt the principal on her voyage [75].

A.D. 1436. Marriage. Undiſmayed by theſe threats, James, having prepared a fleet of nine great ſhips, ſent away his daughter, attended by a ſplendid train of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, with about a thouſand troops. The Engliſh fleet that put to ſea to intercept this ſmall ſquadron, was defeated by the Caſtilians, and the Scots arrived ſafe at Rochelle, in the ſpring of A. D. 1436; and about two months after the princeſs was married to the dauphin, at Tours, June 25, with great pomp [76].

Action at Pepperdin. The rejection of the Engliſh propoſals produced hoſtilities between the two nations at the expiration of the truce, May 1, A. D. 1436. Soon after, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, at the head of 4000 men, was met by William Douglas earl of Angus, attended by an equal number of his followers, at Pepperdin near Chiviot, where a fierce encounter enſued, in which many brave men were killed on both ſides [77].

Siege of Roxburgh. King James, having ſpent the ſummer in raiſing an army, inveſted Roxburgh about the beginning of Auguſt, and puſhed the ſiege with great vigour. But when the place was on the point of ſurrendering, it was relieved in a very extraordi-

[75] Scotieron. l. 16. c. 24.

[76] Id. ibid. c. 12. Annotat. in Buchan. p. 439.

[77] Scotieron. l. 16. c. 25. Abercrom. vol. 2. p. 299. This is probably the action celebrated in the famous ballad of Chiviot-chaſe.

nary

nary manner. The queen arrived in the camp by hafty journies, and acquainted the king, that a plot was formed againſt his life, of which ſhe could diſcover no particulars. James, knowing that many of his barons were ſecretly diſſatisfied with his meaſures, was ſeized with a panic, and without allowing himſelf time to reflect, inſtantly diſbanded his army, and retired with great precipitation to his favourite reſidence, the Carthuſian monaſtery at Perth, which he had lately founded [78]. A.D. 1436.

In this place, James, not knowing whom to truſt, lived in greater privacy than was ſuitable to his ſtation, or conſiſtent with his ſafety, which facilitated the execution of the plot againſt him. This plot was formed by ſo few, that it was kept with impenetrable ſecrecy; and the principal perſons concerned in it were ſo nearly connected with the king by the ties of blood, that they were not in the leaſt ſuſpected. Walter earl of Athol, the king's uncle, was the chief conſpirator, infatuated, as it is moſt probable, by a vain hope, and blind ambition, of obtaining the crown. He eaſily engaged in it his own grandſon and heir, Robert Stewart, who reſided at court, and was in favour with the king; and Robert Graham, uncle to the earl of Strathern, a deſperate diſcontented man, who was capable of the moſt atrocious deeds. Graham came to Perth, attended by ſeven of his A.D. 1437. The king murdered.

[78] Buchan. l. 10. p. 195. The account given of this ſiege by Bowmaker, a contemporary hiſtorian, is perfectly abſurd and incredible. Scoticron. l. 16. c. 26.

A. D. 1437. moſt reſolute followers, after it was dark, on February 20, A. D. 1437, and was ſecretly admitted with them into the palace by Robert Stewart. As the king and queen were at ſupper in profound ſecurity, with very few attendants, Walter Straton, a cupbearer, going out of the room to bring ſome wine, diſcovered armed men in the paſſage, and gave the alarm, by crying, Traitors! Traitors! But it was too late. Having inſtantly diſpatched Straton, they ruſhed into the king's apartment with their ſwords drawn. The queen, attempting to ſcreen her beloved conſort, was wounded, and torn away; after which the king was cruelly ſlain and mangled by no fewer than twenty-eight wounds [79].

His character. Thus fell James I. in the thirty-ſecond year of his reign from his father's death, and the thirteenth from his coronation, and the forty-fourth year of his age, by the hands of barbarous and cruel aſſaſſins. It is impoſſible to enumerate and deſcribe the various virtues and accompliſhments of this prince, without greatly exceeding the bounds commonly allowed to characters in hiſtory. But I may be the ſhorter on thoſe ſubjects in this place, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to conſider his accompliſhments as a legiſlator, philoſopher, poet, muſician, and artiſt, in the ſubſequent chapters of this book. In his perſon he was rather below the middle ſize, but uncommonly ſtrong, and no leſs agile and active. "His bones (ſays a contemporary hiſtorian, who was familiarly ac-

[79] Scotichron. l. 16. c. 27. Buchan. l. 10. p. 196.

"quainted

" quainted with him) were ſo great, and his joints A.D. 1437.
" ſo firm, that he challenged the biggeſt and
" ſtrongeſt men to wreſtle, and dreaded nothing
" ſo much as that they ſhould remember he was
" a king, when they were engaged with him in
" theſe ſtruggles. He putted the ſtone, and
" threw the mell, further than any other man; he
" was an admirable archer, and excelled in run-
" ning, riding, tilting, and every martial and
" manly exerciſe[80]." But the virtues of his mind were ſtill more conſpicuous than the perfections of his body. He was eminently pious, according to the mode of the times in which he flouriſhed; and though he blamed his anceſtor St. David for building monaſteries, he could not abſtain from imitating his example[81]. No prince was ever a greater lover of juſtice, which he executed with the moſt intrepid impartiality upon the greateſt, when they injured the meaneſt of his ſubjects[82]. Though he was naturally brave and warlike, he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, as that was neceſſary to the execution of the deſigns he had formed for the improvement of his dominions, and civilization of his ſubjects. He was a fond huſband, an affectionate parent, an indulgent maſter, an agreeable companion, and, in a word, one of the beſt men and greateſt princes that ever reigned in Scotland.

Though many of his ſubjects did not reliſh the ſtrictneſs of James's government, and ſome of Puniſhment of the aſſaſſins.

[80] Scoticron. l. 16. c. 28. [81] Id. ibid. c. 18.
[82] Id. ibid. c. 28.

A. D. 1437. them had ſuffered in their fortunes by his reſumption of the crown lands; yet as ſoon as the news of his death reached them, their complaints were all ſuppreſſed, and nothing was heard but their lamentations. They diſcovered the warmth of their eſteem and love to their murdered ſovereign, by the ardour with which they purſued, and the ſeverity with which they puniſhed, his murderers, none of whom eſcaped the fate they merited. The two chief conſpirators, the earl of Athol and Robert Graham, endured a variety of tortures for three days, which are too ſhocking to be related; and yet ſo deſperate a ſpirit had the laſt of theſe, that, being aſked in the midſt of his tortures, How he dared to kill the king? he replied, "I dare to "leap from the higheſt heaven into the loweſt "hell[83]."

His iſſue. James I. left one ſon, of his own name; and five daughters, viz. Margaret, married to the dauphin of France; Iſabel, to Francis duke of Britanny; Jean, ſucceſſively to the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Morton; Helenor, to Sigiſmond duke of Auſtria; and Mary, to John lord of Campvere and Zealand.

[83] Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 308, 309.

SECTION II.

From the acceſſion of James II. *to the acceſſion of James* III. A. D. 1460.

JAMES II. was only ſix years and four months old at the death of his illuſtrious father, and was crowned in the abbey of Holyrood-houſe, March 20, A. D. 1437, being the firſt day of a parliament which met at Edinburgh for the trial of the regicides and the ſettlement of the adminiſtration during the king's minority. Archibald duke of Touraine and earl of Douglas, who was by far the moſt powerful ſubject in Scotland, was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom; and the cuſtody of the king's perſon, and the adminiſtration of the civil government, were committed to ſir Alexander Livingſton of Callender, and ſir William Crichton of Crichton, two gentlemen who had been much eſteemed and employed by the late king [1]. A.D. 1437. James II.

Though no truce ſubſiſted at this time between England and Scotland, there was a total ceſſation of hoſtilities, neither of them being in a condition to moleſt the other. To ſecure the continuance of this tranquillity, which was equally beneficial to both nations, a commiſſion was granted by king James II. November 30, A. D. 1437, to the lords Gordon and Montgomery, John Methven provoſt of Lyncluden, and John Vauſſe, Eſq. to Truce with England.

1 Black Acts, f. 26. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 319. Annot. in Buchan. p. 440.

A. D. 1438. negotiate a truce with commiſſioners of the king of England. Conferences were accordingly held on that ſubject at London, and a truce concluded, March 31, A. D. 1438, for nine years, viz. from the 1ſt of May in that year, to the 1ſt of May A. D. 1447[2].

Confuſions ariſe. Archibald duke of Touraine and earl of Douglas, who was the firſt of the Scots conſervators of this truce, died about three months after it was made; and ſoon after his death, all things fell into confuſion[3]. This was partly owing to the youthful arrogance of his ſon and ſucceſſor, William earl of Douglas, and partly to the violent diſcord that aroſe between the governor Livingſtone and the chancellor Crichton, who were men of abilities, but exceedingly ambitious and intereſted, each ſtriving to ſupplant the other, and ingroſs all the power and emoluments of adminiſtration. The chancellor had poſſeſſion of the king's perſon and the caſtle of Edinburgh, while the governor reſided with the queen-mother in the caſtle of Stirling; and whatever edicts the one publiſhed, the other contradicted; and whoever obeyed the one was puniſhed by the other; which threw the country into great confuſion[4].

A. D. 1439. The king brought to Stirling. The queen-mother, who was a princeſs of great addreſs, came from Stirling to Edinburgh, with a ſmall train to viſit her ſon, and enquire after his health. The chancellor could not with decency refuſe her admittance to the caſtle; and ſhe be-

[2] Rym. Fœd. t. 10 p. 688—695.
[3] Hume of Godſcroft, p. 144.
[4] Buchan. lib. 11. Fitſcottie, p. 2, 3.

haved

haved to him with ſo much affability, and made ſo many profeſſions of eſteem and good-will, that he entertained no ſuſpicion of any ill-deſign. When her plot was ripe for execution, ſhe told the chancellor that ſhe deſigned to go on pilgrimage to the White Kirk of Buchan, to pray for the health and proſperity of her ſon; and that ſhe would carry nothing with her but two cheſts, containing her clothes and a few neceſſaries. The king, with his own conſent, was placed in one of theſe cheſts, conveyed out of the caſtle to Leith, and put on board a ſhip, in which the queen immediately ſet ſail for Stirling; where ſhe was received by the governor at her landing, and with her ſon conducted into the caſtle, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people[5]. A. D. 1439.

The governor, having the king in his poſſeſſion, determined to puſh his advantage againſt his rival as far as poſſible. With this view, he ſummoned a kind of parliament, or great council of his partiſans, probably that which met at Stirling, March 13, A. D. 1439, in which an act was made againſt ſuch as held out caſtles againſt the king[6]. In this council it was propoſed, and at laſt reſolved, to beſiege the chancellor in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and the queen, to encourage them to engage in that enterpriſe, promiſed to furniſh the army with meal during the ſiege[7]. Council at Stirling.

The chancellor, foreſeeing the approaching ſtorm, ſent a meſſenger to the earl of Douglas, to Meſſage to the earl of Douglas.

[5] Pitſcottie, p. 3. Buchan. lib. 11. p. 198.

[6] Black Acts, f. 25. p. 2. [7] Pitſcottie, p. 5.

implore

A. D. 1439. implore his protection and aid againſt the governor. Our hiſtorians in general ſay, that this meſſage was ſent to Archibald earl of Douglas: but that is hardly poſſible; at leaſt, it is much more probable that it was to his ſon William. The anſwer, too, was like that of a haughty, impetuous young man, viz. "That he was glad two ſuch "knaves had quarrelled, and hoped they would "deſtroy one another[8]."

Reconciliation between the governor and chancellor.

Soon after the chancellor had received this anſwer, he found himſelf inveſted in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies. To prevent this, he found means to ſend a meſſage to the governor, expreſſing a deſire to have a converſation with him, in which he had ſomething to communicate that was equally intereſting to them both. To this the governor agreed; and after the neceſſary precautions for their common ſafety, they had a meeting, in which the chancellor communicated the anſwer he had received from the earl of Douglas, and convinced the governor, that if they perſiſted to weaken one another, that common enemy would deſtroy them both. This produced a reconciliation. The chancellor delivered the keys of the caſtle to the king, who immediately returned them to him, according to agreement, received him into favour, and reſtored him to his office of chancellor, of which he had been deprived[9]. After this tranſaction, the governor conducted the young king back again to Stirling caſtle.

[8] Pitſcottie, p. 5. [9] Id. p. 7.

During

A. D. 1439. Deplorable ſtate of Scotland.

During the conteſt between the chancellor and governor, the reins of government were ſo much relaxed, that the whole country was a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, in which thefts, robberies, and murders were committed with impunity. Sir Thomas Boyde of Kilmarnock ſlew Allan Stewart, lord Darnley, at Polmont-thorn, between Falkirk and Linlithgow, in October A. D. 1438. This produced a family feud, and a pitched battle was fought July 22, A. D. 1439, in which the Boydes were defeated and ſir Thomas ſlain [10]. William earl of Douglas having ſucceeded, A. D. 1438, to the great power and poſſeſſions of his father, both in France and Scotland, when he was hardly fifteen years of age, became wanton with proſperity, affected independency, and encouraged his vaſſals, particularly in Annandale, to plunder thoſe parts of the country that were not under his juriſdiction [11], The farmers, in many places, enjoyed ſo little ſecurity, that the lands were left uncultivated, a dreadful famine enſued, followed by a plague, which carried off thoſe who were ſeized with it in a few hours [12]. In a word, few countries were ever in a more wretched condition than Scotland was in the minority of James II.; ſo much did it ſuffer by the cruel murder of James I.

A. D. 1440. The queen confined.

Though the governor had a great advantage in poſſeſſing the perſon of the king, he was not without difficulties. His great friend and patroneſs,

[10] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 200. [11] Id. ibid.
[12] Scoticron. tom. 2. p. 514. edit. Edin. 1759.

the

A. D. 1440. the queen-mother, had fallen in love with and married ſir James Stewart, brother to the lord Lorn; and both ſhe and her huſband being much offended that he was not admitted into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, entered into a correſpondence with the earl of Douglas. The governor, having diſcovered this correſpondence, acted with great ſpirit. He threw ſir James Stewart and his brother lord Lorn into priſon, confined the queen to her apartment in the caſtle of Stirling, and did not ſet them at liberty till they had given ample ſecurity for their future good behaviour [13].

The king carried off from Stirling.

In the mean time, the chancellor was far from being ſatisfied with his ſituation. He was allowed indeed to live quietly in the caſtle of Edinburgh, but was ſeldom conſulted, and ſaw his rival poſſeſſing all places of power and profit, or beſtowing them upon his friends. He therefore formed a plot to recover the advantages he had loſt. By his ſpies he was informed, that the young king was permitted to take the diverſion of hunting in the park of Stirling, with a few attendants. Having privately convened about a hundred of his moſt truſty friends, well mounted and armed, they ſet out in ſmall parties from different places near Edinburgh, after it was dark, and met at the place appointed, in the park of Stirling, early next morning. To their agreeable ſurpriſe the king entered the park ſoon after, attended only by a few followers. The chancellor rode up to the king, and in a ſoothing ſpeech endeavoured to perſuade him

[13] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 200. Pitſcottie, p. 8.

that

that he came to ſet him at liberty, and to conduct him to any place he pleaſed. Sir Alexander Livingſton, the governor's eldeſt ſon, reſtrained his friends from making any oppoſition, and the king was conducted to the caſtle of Edinburgh [14]. A.D 1440.

When the governor returned to Stirling in the evening, he was almoſt diſtracted with rage and grief. In the firſt tranſports of his anger, he entertained ſome thoughts of joining with the earl of Douglas to procure revenge. But he ſoon became ſenſible of his folly and danger of truſting himſelf in the hands of a paſſionate young man, who hated him, and had many deſperate ruffians about him, capable of any villany. After revolving many things in his mind, and conſulting with his wiſeſt confidents, he determined to ſacrifice his reſentment to his ſafety, and to attempt a reconciliation with his rival. He accordingly went to Edinburgh, attended only by a few friends, and by the mediation of the biſhops of Aberdeen and Moray, obtained a meeting with the chancellor, in the church of St. Giles. At this meeting, being both fully convinced that their preſervation depended on their union, a more ſincere and hearty reconciliation than the former took place; to which nothing contributed ſo much as their dread of the earl of Douglas. By this agreement, the king was to remain with the chancellor, and the governor to retain all the authority and emoluments of his place [15]. Livingſton and Crichton reconciled.

[14] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 201. [15] Ibid.

Imme-

A.D. 1440. Earl of Douglas killed.

Immediately after this agreement, a parliament was called to meet at Edinburgh, A. D. 1440, to which great numbers of people crowded, with complaints againſt the earl of Douglas, and his retainers. The parliament did not think it prudent to proceed with a high hand againſt that potent earl, which would have produced a civil war; but ſent him a ſoothing letter, entreating him and his friends to come and take their ſeats in parliament, and that ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs to which they were intitled. Pleaſed with this reſpectful invitation, the earl, accompanied by his only brother lord David, and his chief confident ſir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, ſet out for Edinburgh with a ſplendid retinue. The chancellor met him on the way, invited him to his caſtle of Crichton, entertained him in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and made him ſo many flattering profeſſions of eſteem and friendſhip, that he ſlighted all the admonitions of his friends, who entreated him to be upon his guard, and to ſend back his brother into the country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was received with the moſt flattering marks of diſtinction, conducted by the chancellor, with the lord David, his brother, and ſir Malcolm Fleming, into the caſtle, to dine with the king. But when they were ſeated at the royal table, they were ſuddenly ſeized by armed men, dragged out of the king's preſence; and after a very ſummary trial, as is moſt probable, or without any trial, as many authors affirm, they were all three beheaded, November 24, in the court of the

the caſtle[16]: a moſt horrid, inhoſpitable, and cruel deed, which merits the execration of poſterity! A.D. 1440.

By the death, or rather the murder, of the young earl of Douglas and his brother, the great eſtates of that family were divided; their uncle, James lord of Abercorn, ſucceeding to the earldom of Douglas, and their only ſiſter Margaret, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Galloway*, to all the unentailed eſtates of Annandale, Galloway, Ormond, &c.[17]. James earl of Douglas, called *The Groſs*, being old and indolent, did not attempt to revenge the murder of his nephews, or diſturb the peace of his country. But his life and that peace were both of ſhort duration. He died at Abercorn, March 24, A. D. 1443, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, who married his couſin Margaret, the Fair Maid of Galloway, and thereby reunited the great eſtates of the family, and became as formidable as any of his predeceſſors[18]. A. D. 1443. Earls of Douglas.

William earl of Douglas, elated by his power and opulence, for ſome time paid little or no regard to the authority of his king, or the laws of his country; but rather encouraged and protected robbers, plunderers, and diſorderly perſons, out of hatred to the lords Livingſton and Crichton, who A. D. 1444. Earl of Douglas in favour.

[16] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 203. Annot. p. 440. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 328—331. Hawthornden, p. 22. Pitſcottie, p. 17.

[17] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310.

[18] Godſcroft, p. 157—159. This author, and other hiſtorians, call this lady Beatrix, which was unqueſtionably the name of this earl William's mother, and not of his wife, who was called Margaret. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11, p. 310.

A.D. 1443. had the chief direction of affairs, and with a view to bring them into contempt. But after the king had reached his fourteenth year, and began to interfere in the choice of his ſervants and the management of affairs, the earl changed his plan of policy, but not his views. Being aſſured by his friends, that he would meet with a favourable reception, he came to court, then at Stirling, attended by a numerous retinue of his friends and vaſſals, and, falling on his knees before the king, made the moſt ſolemn profeſſions of the moſt inviolable loyalty. He was well received; and in a little time, by his engaging, ſubmiſſive behaviour to the young king, and his liberality to the courtiers, he became the great favourite of both [19].

A. D. 1445. Livingſton and Crichton proſcribed.

The lords Livingſton and Crichton, obſerving the increaſing favour of their too powerful enemy, reſigned their offices, and retired from court; the former to his houſe of Callender, and the latter to the caſtle of Edinburgh, of which he had the cuſtody. But the earl of Douglas, now in the full poſſeſſion of all the power of the ſtate, determined not to ſuffer his enemies to eſcape ſo eaſily; and, by his influence, they were both denounced rebels, and their eſtates confiſcated, by a parliament that met at Perth, July 14, A. D. 1445, and from thence adjourned to Edinburgh. While the king, or rather the earl of Douglas, beſieged the caſtle of Edinburgh, he employed his friends in executing the ſentence againſt the two proſcribed lords, by ſeizing their lands and caſtles; in which they met

[19] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 204.

with

with ſo much oppoſition and retaliation, that the country became a ſcene of ſlaughter and devaſtation. The lord Livingſton, ſir Alexander his eldeſt ſon, ſir Robert Livingſton treaſurer, ſir David Livingſton, ſir James Dundas of Dundas, and ſir Robert Bruce of Clackmanan, were apprehended. Lord Livingſton, ſir James Dundas, and ſir Robert Bruce, ſaved their lives by a liberal well directed diſtribution of their lands and money, but the other three were condemned and executed [20]. A. D. 1445.

The caſtle of Edinburgh was bravely defended; and the earl of Douglas, deſpairing of taking it by force, entered into a negociation with the late chancellor; who, upon obtaining a full pardon with the reſtoration of his eſtates and honours, ratified by parliament, ſurrendered it to the king [21]. The parliament that ratified this capitulation met at Perth, July 14, A. D. 1445; and was from thence adjourned to Edinburgh, to finiſh that tranſaction. The lord Crichton was ſeemingly reconciled to the earl of Douglas, and reſtored to the office of chancellor; but diſtruſting the ſincerity of that reconciliation, he appeared as little at court as poſſible [22]. Lord Crichton reſtored.

The queen-mother, and her huſband ſir James Stewart, called the *Black Knight of Lorn*, having lived ſeveral years neglected and diſcontented, ſhe Queen's death.

[20] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 206. Hawthornden, p. 23, &c. Piſcottie, p. 20, &c. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 334.
[21] Scoticron. lib. 16. p. 515. Pitſcottie, p. 23.
[22] Crawford's Officers of State, p. 32.

A. D. 1445. died in July A. D. 1445, leaving three ſons by her ſecond huſband, viz. John who was made earl of Athol A. D. 1455; James who was made earl of Buchan A. D. 1469; and Andrew who became biſhop of Moray. Sir James Stewart had ſpoken with ſo much aſperity of thoſe in power, that he did not think himſelf ſafe in Scotland after the queen's death, and obtained a ſafe-conduct from Henry VI. November 24, A. D. 1445[23]. The ſame prince granted him a protection, November 22, A. D. 1447, to reſide in England four years, with his two ſons, John and James; and another ſafe-conduct, Auguſt 17, A. D. 1451, for himſelf, his two ſons, ſix other gentlemen, and twenty ſervants[24]. The time and manner of his death are not certainly known.

A.D. 1446. Greatneſs of the Douglaſes.

While the Earl of Douglas poſſeſſed the favour of the king and the direction of affairs, he did not neglect himſelf, his family, and friends. He was conſtituted lord lieutenant of the kingdom, which was thought to be a leſs offenſive name than that of regent or governor.—One of his brothers, Archibald, was made earl of Moray;—another of them, Hugh, earl of Ormond;—and a third, John lord Balveny[25]. In a word, no family in Scotland ever poſſeſſed ſo much power and territory as that of Douglas did at this time. But neither power nor riches can ſecure permanent proſperity.

[23] Crawford's Officers of State, p. 32. Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 107. [24] Id. ibid. p. 192. 301.

[25] Godſcroft, p. 160. Pitſcottie, p. 25.

King James being now about eighteen years of age, and having no brothers, it was thought proper that he ſhould be married as ſoon as poſſible. A commiſſion was therefore granted at Stirling, May 6, A. D. 1448, to the lord Crichton, chancellor, John biſhop of Dunkeld, Andrew abbot of Melroſs, George lord Seaton, Nicholas Otterton, canon of Glaſgow, Thomas Cranſton, eſq; and John Dalrymple, bailie of Edinburgh, to go into France to renew the ancient alliance with that crown, and provide a ſuitable conſort for their ſovereign [26]. Theſe ambaſſadors obtained a ſafe-conduct to paſs through England, with fifty perſons in their company, dated April 23, A. D. 1448 [27]. On their arrival at the court of France, they renewed the ancient alliances between the two kingdoms; but not finding in that country a proper match for their king, Charles VII. recommended Mary, daughter of Anthony duke of Guelder and Cleve, and by her mother, granddaughter of John duke of Burgundy, a princeſs young and beautiful and of an heroic ſpirit. The commiſſioners found no difficulty in concluding the contract of marriage, and conducting the princeſs into Scotland. She was married to the king in the chapel of Holyroodhouſe, in June A. D. 1449 [28]. A. D. 1448. The king married. A. D. 1449.

While theſe commiſſioners were negotiating the king's marriage abroad, the truce which ſhould Military operations.

[26] Abercromby, vol 2. p. 333.
[27] Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 213.
[28] Annot. in Buchan. p. 441. Hawthornden, p. 26.

A. D. 1449. have ſubſiſted between the two Britiſh kingdoms till May 1, A. D. 1454, was violated, by mutual incurſions on the borders [29]. The occaſion of theſe incurſions is not well known; but it is moſt probable that they proceeded from ſome perſonal or family feuds, rather than from any national quarrel. The Engliſh appear to have been the aggreſſors. The earl of Northumberland, warden of the eaſt marches, invaded Scotland on that ſide, and burnt Dunbar; while the earl of Saliſbury, warden of the weſt marches, made an incurſion on his quarter, and burnt Dumfries. But theſe injuries were ſoon retaliated by the lord Balveny, who burnt Alnwick, and deſolated the open country. To revenge theſe injuries, the earl of Northumberland raiſed a numerous army, with which he invaded Scotland. But he was not permitted to proceed far: for being met by a Scotch army, commanded by Hugh earl of Ormond, at the river Sark, in Annandale, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Engliſh were defeated, with the loſs of 3000 men. The earl of Northumberland eſcaped with great difficulty; but his ſon lord Piercy, ſir John Pennington, ſir Robert Harrington, and ſeveral other knights and gentlemen, were taken, and committed to the caſtle of Lochmaben. The Scots loſt 600 men; among whom were few perſons of note, except ſir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, to whoſe valour the victory was chiefly owing [30].

[29] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 58. [30] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 208. Pitſcottie, p. 30. Hawthornden, p. 26. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 340.

But

But as this war was not agreeable to either of the Britiſh ſovereigns, it was ſoon terminated by a ſhort truce made at Wincheſter, July 10, A. D. 1449; which was prolonged by another concluded at Durham, September 17, in the ſame year [31]. Theſe ſhort truces muſt have been attended with much expence and trouble, as we ſometimes find twenty plenipotentiaries of high rank employed in negotiating one of ſix weeks duration. At length a truce of an uncommon nature was made, November 15 of the ſame year, at Durham. It was not to continue for any limited time, but as long as it was agreeable to both parties to obſerve it; and when one of the parties intended to depart from it, he was bound to give a formal intimation of his intention to the other 180 days before he commenced hoſtilities [32]. A. D. 1449. Truces.

The family of Douglas was in the zenith of its power and proſperity at this time, two of the earl's brothers, the earl of Ormond and the lord Balveny, having gained great honour in the late war. But from this time too, the enormous greatneſs of that family began to decline. This was owing to various cauſes;—to the jealouſy of the king,—the envy of the other nobles,—the hatred of the people,—but chiefly to the abuſe of their power, by protecting the moſt abandoned of their retainers in all their villanies, and cruſhing all who dared to oppoſe them, or any of their followers. Of this it will be ſufficient to give one A. D. 1450. Violence of the earl of Douglas.

[31] Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 231. 238. [32] Id. ibid. p. 244.

A. D. 1450. example. Sir Richard Colvil of Ochiltree happening to meet John Auchinleck of Auchinleck (a retainer of the earl of Douglas), from whom he had received many injuries, a quarrel enſued, and Auchinleck was killed. The earl of Douglas, inſtead of bringing ſir Richard to a trial, firſt burnt and ruined every thing on his eſtate, then beſieged and took his caſtle, and put him and all the men in it to the ſword [33]. Such outrageous acts of violence rendered this great earl an object of terror to all who were not under his protection [34].

Earl of Douglas viſits Rome.

This being the year of jubilee, the earl of Douglas, prompted by vanity or ſuperſtition, determined to viſit Rome. Having committed the care of his affairs in Scotland to his brother John lord Balveny, he ſet out, accompanied by his eldeſt brother lord James Douglas, with ſeveral other lords, knights, and gentlemen, making an oſtentatious diſplay of his wealth and grandeur in the ſeveral countries through which he paſſed. When he approached Rome, he was met by a proceſſion of the clergy and principal citizens, and conducted into the city in a kind of triumph [35].

Earl of Douglas proſecuted.

The affairs of this potent earl did not proſper ſo well in his native country. Soon after his departure, many complaints were made againſt him to the king and council, of injuries done, and cruelties committed, by him and his followers.

[33] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 209. [34] Pitſcottie. p. 33. [35] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 210. Pitſcottie, p. 33. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 349.

The

The king on this occaſion acted with great pru- A. D. 1450.
dence and moderation, being probably influenced by the advice of his ancient counſellors, the lord Crichton and the lord Livingſton, who had lately been made high juſticiary. He ſummoned the lord Balveny to appear before him; but that lord diſregarding the ſummons, he was apprehended, and brought before the council; and not being able to vindicate the earl, and ſeveral of his retainers, from the complaints brought againſt them, he was commanded to indemnify the ſufferers out of the earl's rents, and the goods of the other delinquents; and upon his promiſing to do this, he was ſet at liberty. But being encouraged by his two brothers, the earls of Ormond and Moray, he refuſed to perform his promiſe. The king then gave a commiſſion to William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, to do what the lord Balveny had promiſed, and ſent him into the earl of Douglas's countries with a few troops, to execute that commiſſion. But he was every where reſiſted and inſulted; at which the king being juſtly irritated, he raiſed an army, beſieged, took, and demoliſhed the caſtle of Douglas, commanded the earl's rents, and the effects of the other delinquents, to be ſeized, and made reſtitution to the ſufferers [36].

When the earl of Douglas received intelligence A. D. 1451.
of theſe tranſactions, he haſtened his return, and Earl of Douglas returns.
paſſed through England, under the protection of a ſafe-conduct from that court, 12th November

[36] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 210. Pitſcottie, p. 34.

A. D. 1451. A. D. 1450, for himſelf, and twenty other lords, knights, and gentlemen, in his company, with eighty other attendants [37]. His intention ſeems to have been to remain ſome time in England; for his ſafe-conduct contained a permiſſion to him and his followers to reſide in that kingdom three years [38]. But finding that country in great confuſion, and having received aſſurances from his friends in Scotland, that he would meet with a favourable reception from his own ſovereign, he returned home about the beginning of A. D. 1451, went to court, was well received, and reſtored to all his eſtates and honours, on his engaging to behave as became a loyal ſubject, and no longer to obſtruct the execution of juſtice on thoſe who violated the laws. So perfectly was the king reconciled to this great earl at this time, that he appointed him one of his plenipotentiaries to ſettle certain points with thoſe of England, for the better obſervation of the late truce; and he, with the other commiſſioners, obtained a ſafe-conduct from Henry VI. dated April 17, A. D. 1451, to come to Newcaſtle or Durham for that purpoſe [39].

The earl of Douglas obtains a protection in England.

It is highly probable, however, that this reconciliation was not very ſincere on the part of the earl of Douglas, and that he ſecretly reſolved to be revenged, if not on the king, at leaſt on his miniſters, for what had been done againſt him and his adherents in his abſence. For when he was in England, veſted with this commiſſion from his

[37] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 278. [38] Id. ibid.
[39] Id. ibid. p. 283.

ſove-

ſovereign, he engaged in certain dark intrigues with that court, and obtained a protection, May 12, A. D. 1451, for himſelf, his three brothers, thirty other lords, knights, and gentlemen, therein named, with ſixty-ſeven perſons, nobles or others, to reſide in that kingdom; by which he provided an aſylum for himſelf and his followers [40]. A. D. 1451.

The indefinite truce that had been lately ſettled between the two Britiſh kingdoms being attended with ſome difficulties, another was concluded at Newcaſtle, Auguſt 14, A. D. 1451, to continue from that time to Auguſt 15, A. D. 1454, and as long after as it pleaſed both the kings [41]. Truce.

The earl of Douglas, after his return and reconciliation with the king, was very far from paying that reſpect to the authority of his ſovereign and the laws of his country that he had promiſed; but, on the contrary, acted more like an independent and hoſtile ſovereign than a ſubject. Beſides his ſuſpicious correſpondence with the court of England—he entered into a bond with the earls of Crawford and Roſs, and other noblemen, to ſtand by and aſſiſt each other againſt all men, in direct oppoſition to an act of parliament againſt ſuch bonds [42]—his vaſſals of Annandale plundered the lands, and carried off the cattle, of the lord Herris of Terregles; who having applied to the earl for redreſs in vain, raiſed his friends and tenants, and made an attempt to recover his property. But Diſloyal conduct of the earl of Douglas.

[40] Rym. Fœd. tom 11. p. 285.
[41] Id. ibid. p. 293.
[42] Black Acts, f. 6. c. 33.

being

A. D. 1451. being overpowered and taken priſoner in that attempt, he was carried to the earl, who commanded him to be hanged as a common thief. With the ſame cruelty he put to death the chief of the Maclellans, a numerous clan in Galloway, who were not of his party [43]. In a word, the earl of Douglas employed all his art and power to increaſe the number of his partiſans, and deſtroy thoſe who declined to be of that number.

A. D. 1452. Earl of Douglas killed. The king, equally irritated and alarmed at this conduct, ſummoned the earl to come to court; which he refuſed, unleſs a ſafe-conduct was granted him under the great ſeal. Though this was an uncommon requiſition in a ſubject from his ſovereign, it was complied with; on which he came to court, then at Stirling, attended by his brothers, and a numerous retinue of his friends and followers. He was well received, and invited to ſupper with the king in the caſtle. After ſupper, the king conducted the earl into another chamber, and entered into an expoſtulation with him concerning his late conduct, and particularly concerning the illegal bond into which he had entered with the earls of Crawford, Roſs, and others, commanding him, in a peremptory tone, inſtantly to deliver it into his hands. The earl obſtinately refuſing to comply with this command, the king, in a tranſport of rage, drew his hanger, plunged it into the earl's heart, and laid him dead at his feet, February 22,

[43] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 211. Pitſcottie, p. 37—40. Hawthornden, p. 28. Godſcroft, p. 186—189.

A. D.

A. D. 1452 [44]; a raſh, criminal, and cruel deed! for which no excuſe can be pleaded, but the king's youth and warmth of temper, and the many provocations he had received from his turbulent and too powerful ſubject. A. D. 1452.

Rage of the Douglaſes.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the fury of the Douglaſes, when they were told the fate of their chief. As he died without iſſue, they acknowledged his next brother James, as earl of Douglas; and, putting him at their head, proceeded to the market-croſs of Stirling, and there proclaimed the king a perjured murderer, and an enemy to mankind; ſounding all the trumpets and horns in their army, to ſtrike terror into the garriſon of the caſtle. They tied the ſafe-conduct that had been granted to the late earl to a horſe's tail, and dragged it through the ſtreets, giving the king all the moſt opprobrious names they could deviſe. In the firſt tranſports of their rage, they propoſed to attack the caſtle, and put the king and all within it to the ſword: but finding that they were not prepared for ſuch an undertaking, they retired from Stirling, after ſetting the town on fire in ſeveral places [45].

Their misfortunes.

If all the families of the name of Douglas had been united at this time, the king would have been in the greateſt danger. But the earl of Angus and the lord of Dalkeith were at variance with their chief, and the other families that adhered to him, and on that account they were the objects of their

[44] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 212. Annot. p. 441. Pitſcottie. p. 40, 41. Hawthornden, p. 29.

[45] Hawthornden, p. 29.

moſt

A.D. 1452. moſt violent reſentment, as being the firmeſt friends of the king. The earl of Douglas, therefore, after his departure from Stirling, burnt the town of Dalkeith, and beſieged the caſtle; having ſent his brother, Archibald earl of Moray, into the north againſt the earls of Angus and Huntly. But both theſe expeditions were unfortunate; the earl of Douglas being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the caſtle of Dalkeith, and the earl of Moray being driven out of the north by the loyaliſts. The Douglaſes ſuſtained a ſtill greater loſs, by the defeat of their moſt powerful and zealous ally the earl of Crawford, by Alexander earl of Huntly, near Brechin, May 18, A. D. 1452[46].

Treaty with England. James earl of Douglas ſent his mother Beatrix, and Margaret his late brother's widow, into England, having obtained a protection for them from Henry VI.; and at the ſame time he ſent certain propoſals in writing to that prince, who approved of them, and granted a commiſſion to ſeveral noblemen, June 3, A. D. 1452, to conclude a treaty with his moſt dear couſin, James earl of Douglas, agreeable to his propoſals, and to admit him and his friends to perform liege homage, and take an oath of fealty, as Engliſh ſubjects[47]. We know not the particulars of this treaty; but we may be almoſt certain, that the deſign of the earl of Douglas and his friends, in conſenting to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, was

[46] Buchan. lib. 11. p. 213. Pitſcottie, p. 42. Hawthornden, p. 32. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 357.

[47] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310, 311.

to

to obtain aſſiſtance from that prince againſt their native ſovereign. A.D. 1452.

But the earl of Douglas, diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his efforts at home, and deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from England, then in a moſt diſtracted ſtate, ſoon began to think of an accommodation with the king. This accommodation was concluded, Auguſt 28, A. D. 1452, much ſooner than could have been expected, from the rancour of the parties againſt each other. The earl of Douglas took a ſolemn oath, in his own name, and in the name of all his followers, to obſerve the following conditions—1. That he would lay no claim to the earldom of Wigton, without the permiſſion of Mary queen of Scotland—2. That he would reſign the lordſhip of Stewarton to the king, who might either keep or reſtore it to him as he pleaſed—3. That he and all his followers would lay aſide any malice, hatred, or ill will, that they had conceived againſt any perſon or perſons—4. That he and all his followers would live quietly and peaceably, as became good ſubjects in all time to come—5. And that he would treat the king on all occaſions with the higheſt reſpect and reverence. To the inſtrument containing theſe conditions, the ſeals of the earl of Douglas and of James lord Hamilton, his moſt zealous aſſociate, were affixed [48]. About the ſame time, or perhaps a little before, the earl of Crawford threw himſelf at the king's feet, and implored his mercy; Pacification.

[48] Annot. in Buchan. p. 442.

which,

A. D. 1452. which, at the interceſſion of that excellent prelate James Kennedy, biſhop of St. Andrew's, he obtained, and was reſtored to his eſtate and honours [49].

A. D. 1453. Truce. The king was ſo fully convinced of the ſincerity of the earl of Douglas in his late ſubmiſſion, that he appointed him one of his plenipotentiaries to negotiate the prolongation of the truce with England, by a commiſſion, dated April 18, A. D. 1453 [50]. Veſted with this commiſſion, the earl went to London, and concluded with the commiſſioners of the king of England, at Weſtminſter, May 23, the ſame year, a prolongation of the truce then ſubſiſting, from May 21, A. D. 1453, to May 21, A. D. 1457 [51].

Marriage of the earl of Douglas. But the earl abuſed the confidence of his ſovereign on this occaſion; and, while he was acting as his plenipotentiary, employed himſelf in preparing for a formidable rebellion againſt him. Margaret, formerly called the *Fair Maid of Galloway*, widow of the late earl of Douglas, by whom ſhe had no children, was then in England, and, by the death of her huſband, entitled to all the great eſtates of which ſhe had been heireſs. Earl James, pretending that ſhe was ſtill a virgin, courted and prevailed upon her to marry him, without waiting for a diſpenſation from the pope, or the conſent of his own ſovereign. Soon after his arrival in England, he ſeems to have had a deſign

[49] Pitſcottie, p. 46—49. [50] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 324, 325.
[51] Id. ibid. p. 327—336.

to

to make a journey to Rome, to procure a diſpenſation for this extraordinary marriage, and obtained a ſafe-conduct for himſelf, his three brothers, James lord Hamilton, James lord Livingſton, twenty-five other knights and gentlemen by name, with 112 perſons in their company, to paſs through England in their way to Rome [52]. It is not very improbable that this journey never was intended, and that this protection for ſo many perſons was procured for other purpoſes. What other engagements the earl of Douglas entered into with the court of England at this time, we are not informed. A.D. 1453.

When king James received intelligence of the tranſactions of the earl of Douglas in England, particularly of his marriage with his brother's widow, he could no longer doubt of his ill deſigns, and determined to deprive him, as ſoon as poſſible, of the power of doing miſchief. With this view he marched an army into Galloway, the patrimony of the counteſs Margaret, and without much difficulty ſubjected the country, and ſecured the caſtles, but treated the people with great lenity. He uſed more ſeverity towards the inhabitants of Douglaſdale, on account of their greater attachment to their chieftain. At laſt he beſieged the caſtle of Abercorn, a ſtrong place provided with a brave garriſon [53]. A.D. 1454. Siege of Abercorn.

In the mean time the earl of Douglas, and his friends, had not been idle. He ſent his mother Earl of Douglas ruined.

[52] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 326. 327.
[53] Buchan. l. 11. p. 214. Pitſcottie, p. 50, 51.

the

A. D. 1454. the counteſs Beatrix, and his wife the counteſs Margaret, into England, that they might be out of danger[54]. Having received a ſum of money from the court of England, he, with the lords and gentlemen of his party, collected their followers, and formed an army, it is ſaid, of 30,000 men, with which they directed their march towards Abercorn. But when the earl approached the royal army, which was much inferior to his own, he delayed to give battle. This was a fatal error, which diſguſted ſeveral of his braveſt friends, and diſpirited all his troops. In the night, James lord Hamilton was prevailed upon, by a meſſage from biſhop Kennedy, promiſing pardon, favour, and rewards, to go over with his followers to the royal camp. As ſoon as this was known, ſome imitated his example, others went to their own homes; and the earl, finding himſelf deſerted by the greateſt part of his army, retired with precipitation, and fled into England[55].

A. D. 1455. Parliament. The king, having ſpent the ſpring of this year in pardoning ſuch of the earl of Douglas's partiſans as implored his mercy, and in eſtabliſhing peace and good order in the country, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, June 9, A. D. 1455. In the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, James earl of Douglas, Beatrix counteſs of Douglas, his mother, Archibald earl of Moray, and John lord Balveny, his brothers, with a few of their moſt obſtinate

[54] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 349.

[55] Buchan. l. 11. p. 214. Pitſcottie, p. 51—55. Hawthornden, p. 53. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 360, 361.

adherents

adherents, were attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated. The parliament was then adjourned to Auguſt 4 in the ſame year [56]. A. D. 1455.

James earl of Douglas did not long remain quiet in England; but having, by the aſſiſtance of his brothers and other friends, collected a conſiderable body of troops, Engliſh as well as Scots, he entered Scotland by the weſt marches. But he was not permitted to penetrate far into the country; for being met in Annandale by the earl of Angus, the lord Carliſle of Torthorwald, the laird of Johnſtone, and other loyal barons, at the head of their vaſſals, his army was defeated, Archibald earl of Moray, one of his brothers, was killed, and Hugh earl of Ormond, another of his brothers, was taken and ſoon after beheaded. The earl of Douglas, with his other brother John lord Balveny, eſcaped with great difficulty back to England, where the earl ſoon after, Auguſt 7, A. D. 1455, obtained a penſion of 500l. a-year, equivalent to 5000l. of our money at preſent [57]. Earl of Douglas defeated.

The parliament met again, Auguſt 4, the day to which it had been adjourned. In this ſeſſion ſeveral good laws were made, and the attainders of the earl of Douglas, the counteſs Beatrix his Parliament.

56 Black Acts, f. 34.

57 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 367. Our hiſtorians indeed ſay, that the earl and his brother wandered in diſguiſe into the highlands of Scotland, and after ſpiriting up the earl of Roſs to rebellion, returned in the ſame manner into England. But this is very improbable in itſelf, and it is ſtill more improbable that the earl would have received ſo noble a penſion in his abſence, when he was a forlorn wanderer, and it was unknown whether he was alive or dead.

A. D. 1455. mother, and the lord Balveny (omitting the earl of Moray, who was then dead), were confirmed. It was further declared to be high treaſon to give any entertainment or aſſiſtance to any of thoſe perſons, or to any of their adherents [58]. This parliament was again adjourned to the 13th of October.

Margaret counteſs of Douglas married to the earl of Athol.

It cannot be certainly known at this diſtance of time, whether Margaret counteſs of Douglas married her firſt huſband's brother willingly or by conſtraint. But however that might be, when ſhe ſaw him ruined, and all his and her own great eſtates confiſcated, ſhe forſook him, returned into Scotland, implored the king's compaſſion, and declared, that ſhe had been compelled to her ſecond marriage, which had given him ſo much offence. The king admitted the apology of this unfortunate lady, granted her the lordſhip of Balveny, and married her to the eldeſt of his own uterine brothers, John Stewart earl of Athol [59].

Parliament.

The parliament met at Stirling, October 13, according to adjournment. In this ſeſſion many wiſe regulations were made, for guarding the borders, for conveying the quickeſt intelligence of an approaching enemy, by kindling fires on certain eminences, and for convening the lieges with the greateſt expedition to defend their country [60]. It ſoon appeared that theſe precautions were not unneceſſary. The nation, in a few months after, was involved both in a civil and foreign war.

[58] Black Acts, f. 45, 46.
[59] Pitſcottie, p. 56.
[60] See Black Acts, f. 36.

Donald,

A. D. 1456. Rebellion and invaſion.

Donald, lord of the Iſles, a fierce ambitious chieftain, provoked at the annexation of the earldom of Roſs (that had formerly belonged to his family) to the crown by act of parliament, entered into a dangerous combination with the Engliſh and the earl of Douglas, and engaged to raiſe a rebellion in the north, while they invaded the kingdom on the ſouth. In conſequence of this concert, an army, compoſed of Scots and Engliſh, commanded by the earls of Douglas and Northumberland, paſſed the eaſt marches in the ſpring of this year, and began to plunder the country as uſual. But George Douglas, earl of Angus, who was then conſidered as the chief of that illuſtrious name, aſſaulted and defeated theſe plunderers, and obliged them to repaſs the border with conſiderable loſs. In the mean time, the lord of the Iſles had burnt the town of Inverneſs, and deſtroyed a great extent of country with fire and ſword; but hearing of the defeat of his confederates, and beginning to dread the conſequences of his rebellion; he ſent a meſſenger to the king, promiſing ſubmiſſion and imploring pardon. The king returned this anſwer—That when he had laid down his arms, repaired the damage he had done, and given ſome ſignal proof of the ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion, he might hope for pardon. Truſting to this anſwer and the interceſſion of his lady, who was then at court, he diſbanded his army, and retired into the Iſles, by which the tranquillity of the country was once more reſtored[61].

61 Black Acts, f. 34, 35. Buchan. l. 11 p. 215. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 265, &c. Pitſcottie, p. 57, 58.

A.D. 1456. Letters.

King James, juſtly offended at the ſupport and aſſiſtance that had been given to his rebellious ſubject and moſt inveterate enemy, the earl of Douglas, by the court of England, in the time of a truce, wrote an expoſtulatory letter to that court on that ſubject, and ſent it by Lyon king at arms. To this letter a very paſſionate, or rather ſcurrilous anſwer was returned, July 26, in the name of king Henry, but moſt probably by his haughty queen and imprudent miniſters, without his knowledge, at a time when they vainly imagined they had got the better of all their enemies. This curious anſwer was directed—To the illuſtrious prince James, who behaves as if he was king of Scotland; accuſes him of pride, vanity, calumny, cowardice, fraud, perjury, rebellion, and many other crimes, and threatens to chaſtiſe him for his impudence and preſumption [62]; a threat that was never executed.

Parliament.

James, diſregarding theſe impotent threats, called a parliament, to meet at Edinburgh October 19, A.D. 1456. In this parliament many excellent laws were made,—for the defence of the kingdom, by arming the people, providing artillery, &c.; —for preventing the ſpreading of the peſtilence that then raged;—for the regulation of the coin,—the adminiſtration of juſtice,—and the encouragement of trade [63]. It is impoſſible to peruſe theſe laws without entertaining a good opinion of the wiſdom and patriotiſm of thoſe who made them.

[62] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 383.

[63] Black Acts, f. 38, 39.

The

The Engliſh miniſtry, who had lately treated king James with ſo much contempt, being now involved in great perplexity, and hardly able to defend their country from the French, by whom it was this year twice invaded, gladly agreed to a truce with Scotland for two years, which was concluded at Coventry June 11, A. D. 1457[64]. A. D. 1457. Truce.

King James, who ſeems to have been fond of parliaments, called one to meet at Edinburgh March 6, A. D. 1457, in which no fewer than thirty-ſeven public acts were made, on a great variety of ſubjects, and all of them well calculated to promote the ſafety and proſperity of the kingdom. In the laſt of theſe acts, the three eſtates expreſs their joy, "that God, of his grace, hes ſend "our ſoverane lord ſic progreſſis and proſperity, "that all his rebellis and brekaris of his juſtice ar "removit out of his realme, and na maiſterfull "party remanand, that may cauſe ony breking in "his realme. His three eſtatis maiſt humbly "exhortis and requyris his hienes to be inclynit, "with ſic diligence, to the execution of thir ſta- "tutis, actis, and decretis above written, that God "may be empleſit of him, and all his liegis, ſpi- "ritual and temporal[65]." Parliament.

So good a correſpondence was now reſtored between king James and Henry VI. that by an intercourſe of letters, without any meeting of plenipotentiaries, four years were added, December 31, A. D. 1457, to the truce that had been concluded Truce prolonged.

[64] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 389—399.
[65] Black Acts, f. 40—46.

A. D. 1457. at Coventry a few months before. The reaſons aſſigned by James for his agreeing to this prolongation of the truce were, his love of peace, the deſire of the king of England, and the exhortations of the pope[66].

A. D. 1458. and A. D. 1459. Truce further prolonged. Scotland enjoyed a profound peace during theſe two years; a thing not very common in thoſe turbulent and reſtleſs times. In order to the continuance of that peace, the plenipotentiaries of both kings met at Newcaſtle, and on September 12, A. D. 1459, added five years to the late truce, which prolonged it to July 6, that was to be A. D. 1468[67].

A. D. 1460. King James killed. The conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter had now become very violent, and ſeemed to be approaching to a criſis. The Yorkiſts, it is ſaid, ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the king of Scotland, promiſing the reſtitution of the towns and lands claimed by that king[68]. We know with certainty, that Henry VI. granted a ſafe-conduct June 2, A. D. 1460, to the biſhops of Glaſgow and Aberdeen, the abbots of Holyroodhouſe, Melroſs, and Dumfermline, the lords Livingſton, Evandale, and Montgomery, Mr. John Arrowes, and Mr. Nicholas Otterbourne, to come into England, to treat with him about the better obſervation of the late truce[69]. Some hiſtorians affirm, that James was inſtigated by Henry VI. to undertake the

[66] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 407. [67] Id. ibid. p. 426—436.
[68] Buchan. l. 11. p. 216. Pitſcottie, p. 59, &c.
[69] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 453.

ſiege

ſiege of Roxburgh, becauſe it was held by Yorkiſts[70]. However that may be, it is unqueſtionable that James raiſed an army, with which he inveſted Roxburgh, about the beginning of July this year; but at whoſe inſtigation he did this, or how he reconciled his doing it with the truce that then ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, I have not been able to diſcover. He ſoon took and deſtroyed the town, but the caſtle was defended with great bravery. The earl of Huntley, with his followers, arriving in the camp, the king conducted him to the trenches, to be preſent at a diſcharge of the artillery againſt the fort, Auguſt 3, A. D. 1460; but, unfortunately, one of the guns burſt, killed the king on the ſpot, and wounded the earl of Angus, without hurting any other perſon[71]. A.D. 1460.

Thus fell James II. in the 24th year of his reign, and the 30th of his age. In his perſon he was ſtrong and active, excelling in all manly and martial exerciſes. He had a large red ſpot on one ſide of his face, and on that account was called by the common people *James with the fiery face.* His deportment was uncommonly affable and courteous, which endeared him to perſons of all ranks. In his early youth, his temper was warm and paſſionate; but as he advanced in life, he became cool, cautious, and conſiderate, conducting all his affairs with prudence. In a word James II. was a brave, wiſe, and virtuous, but a very un- His character.

[70] Abercromby, vol. 2. Echard, p. 511.
[71] Buchan. 11. p. 217. Hawthornden, p. 36.

A.D. 1460. fortunate prince, having been haraſſed from his infancy by the rebellions of his turbulent chieftains, and the invaſions of his too powerful neighbours; and when he had ſurmounted his difficulties, was happy in the love of his ſubjects, and had the proſpect of a proſperous reign, he was cut off in a moment, in the prime and flower of his age.

His iſſue. James II. left by his queen Mary of Guelders, three ſons and two daughters, viz. James, who ſucceeded him on the throne, Alexander duke of Albany, John earl of Marr, the lady Mary, and the lady Cecilia.

Roxburgh taken. The nobles and others, who were preſent at the king's death, concealed it for ſome time from the army; and the queen (a princeſs of a bold courageous ſpirit), who had lately arrived in the camp, was ſo far from diſcouraging them by her lamentations, that ſhe excited them by her exhortations to perſevere in the ſiege with redoubled ardour. Animated by the ſpeeches and example of the queen, they aſſaulted the caſtle with ſo much vigour that the garriſon capitulated; and that fortreſs, which had been ſo long a receptacle to their enemies, was diſmantled [72]. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they invaded England, plundered the country, and took and demoliſhed ſeveral caſtles, particularly that of Werk [73].

[72] Boet. p. 381. Buchan. l. 11. p. 217. Pitſcottie, p. 65. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 362.

[73] Buchan. l. 12. p 218.

SECTION III.

From the death of James II. A. D. 1460, *to the death of James* III. A. D. 1488.

JAMES III. was about ſix years and ſeven months old at his acceſſion; and being brought to the camp before Roxburgh, a few days after his father's death, he received the homage of his barons at the neighbouring monaſtry of Kelſo, where, as it is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians, he was alſo crowned [1]. A. D. 1460. James III.

About the beginning of this year a parliament met at Edinburgh, in order to ſettle the adminiſtration during the king's minority. One party of the nobles wiſhed to raiſe the queen-dowager to the regency, in hopes of governing in her name; while another party oppoſed her elevation in hopes of their own advancement. At length, after very warm debates, which had almoſt proceeded to blows, the matter was compromiſed in this manner: the cuſtody of the king's perſon, and of his brothers and ſiſters, was committed to the queen, their mother; and a council of regency was eſtabliſhed, compoſed of noblemen of both parties. In this council, Andrew lord Evandale, the chancellor, and James Kennedy, biſhop of St. Andrew's, both nearly related to the royal family, had the greateſt influence for ſome years, which A. D. 1461. Council of regency.

[1] Buchan. l. 12. p. 218. Hawthornden, p. 39.

A. D. 1461. contributed very much to the peace and good government of the kingdom [2].

Transactions of Henry VI. in Scotland.

After ſeveral ſudden and ſurpriſing turns of fortune, the conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter ſeemed to be finally determined by the bloody battle of Towton, March 29, A. D. 1461, in which the Lancaſtrians were defeated with great ſlaughter. Henry VI. with his queen and only ſon Edward prince of Wales fled for ſhelter to the court of Scotland, where they were kindly received and hoſpitably entertained. To engage the Scots to eſpouſe his cauſe with greater warmth, king Henry ſurrendered to them the town and caſtle of Berwick, April 25, and the young king of Scots viſited his new and important acquiſition, June 15 [3]. Still further to ſtrengthen the union between the two royal families, the two queens concerted a marriage between the princeſs Mary of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, which never took effect.

Negotiations.

Edward IV. who had now taken poſſeſſion of the throne of England, obſerving that the Scots entertained and favoured his rival, determined to raiſe them up enemies at home, to prevent their giving Henry any effectual aſſiſtance. With this view he gained the exiled earl of Douglas to his party and appointed him, June 22. A. D. 1461,

[2] The records of parliament in the firſt ſix years of James III. are loſt, which obliges me to take my information from ſuch hiſtorians as are moſt worthy of credit. Buchan. lib. 12. p. 219, &c. Hawthornden. p. 39. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 384, 385.

[3] Carte, vol. 2. p. 762. Stow, p. 416.

his

his plenipotentiary, to negotiate an alliance between him "and his moſt dear couſin, John lord "of the Iſles and earl of Roſs, and his beloved "and faithful friend Donald Ballagh [4]." The deſign of this negotiation was, to excite theſe turbulent chieftains to rebellion; and yet, in a few weeks after (Auguſt 2), he appointed Richard earl of Warwick his ambaſſador, to treat with the miniſters of his moſt dear couſin, James king of Scotland, about a truce [5]: a ſufficient evidence, that although Edward was but a young prince he was already an artful politician. Both theſe negotiations were carried on during the remainder of this year. A. D. 1461.

The negotiation with the lord of the Iſles was moſt ſucceſsful, and terminated in a very curious treaty, "between the moſt high and mighty "prince Edward IV. king of England and France, "and lord of Ireland; and the full honourable "lord John de Iſle, earl of Roſs and lord of "the Out Iſles." By the firſt article of this treaty (which was concluded at London, February 13. A. D. 1462), John lord of the Iſles and earl of Roſs, Donald Ballagh, and John de Iſle, ſon and heir of the ſaid Donald, with their ſubjects and people, engaged to become the ſubjects and liege men of the king of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors. 2. They engaged to be ready at Whitſunday to aſſiſt the king of England, with all their power, in his wars in Scotland, or againſt the Scots in Ireland. 3. Edward engaged to pay A. D. 1462. Treaty.

[4] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 474.

[5] Id. ibid. p. 475.

to

A. D. 1462. to the earl of Roſs a ſubſidy of 100 marks in time of peace, and 20cl. in time of war; to Donald, 20l. in time of peace, and 40l. in time of war; to John, the ſon of Donald, 10l. in time of peace, and 20l. in time of war, all ſterling money, during their reſpective lives. 4. It was agreed that when the king of England, with the aſſiſtance of theſe allies, and of James earl of Douglas, had ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland, or the greateſt part of it, he ſhould grant all the countries beyond the Forth to the earls of Roſs and Douglas and Donald Ballagh, to be equally divided among them, and held of the crown of England; and that the earl of Douglas ſhould be reſtored to all his eſtates to the ſouth of Forth. 5. Edward engaged, that if he made any peace or truce with the king of Scotland, his allies ſhould be comprehended in it [6]. As a reward to the earl of Douglas for bringing about this alliance, and other ſervices, Edward granted him a penſion of 500l. ſterling a-year for life, February 18, A. D. 1462 [7].

Rebellion. In conſequence of this treaty, the earl of Roſs and his confederates broke out into open rebellion, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Inverneſs, and, advancing into the country, approached the caſtle of Blair in Athol. The earl of Athol, not daring to truſt to the ſtrength of his caſtle, took ſhelter with his counteſs, friends, and moſt valuable effects, in a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. Bridget, which was believed to be an inviolable ſanctuary. But the ferocious enemy, paying no regard to the

[6] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 484—487. [7] Id. ibid. p. 487.

ſanctity

ſanctity of the place, ſeiſed the earl and counteſs, and the goods in the church, and then ſet it on fire. The ſeaſon being now far advanced, the iſlanders, according to their cuſtom, became impatient to ſecure their booty; and, embarking with their priſoners and plunder, ſet ſail for their iſlands. But they were overtaken, on their paſſage by a violent ſtorm, by which many of their veſſels were wrecked, and the reſt diſperſed. In this confuſion, the earl and counteſs of Athol were either ſet at liberty or made their eſcape [8]. A. D. 1462.

When Henry VI. and his queen arrived in Scotland after the battle of Towton, they laboured to engage the moſt powerful of the nobility in their intereſt, by promiſes of great rewards on their reſtoration. To George earl of Angus Henry granted an eſtate between the Trent and Humber, worth 2000 marks a-year, to be erected into a duchy, with many uncommon privileges [9]. Though the earl of Angus never obtained, he endeavoured to merit, this reward. A body of French troops, brought over by queen Margaret, was beſieged in Alnwick caſtle, and in great danger of being killed or taken priſoners. The earl of Angus raiſed his followers, mounted them, and, with a competent number of ſpare horſes to mount the garriſon, attempted their relief. This attempt was conducted with ſo much ſpirit and dexterity, that the earl brought off the French in the face of a ſuperior A. D. 1463. Incurſion into England.

[8] This tranſaction is ſo differently related by our hiſtorians, that I give the above account of it only as the moſt probable See Buchan. lib. 12. p. 225. Abercromby, vol. 2. p 397 Hawthornden, p. 39.

[9] Godſcroft. p. 216.

army

A.D. 1463. army, without being either interrupted or purſued [10].

A. D. 1464. Long truce. The battle of Hexham, fought May 15, A. D. 1464, having quite ruined the Lancaſtrians, the regency of Scotland became earneſt to make a peace or long truce with Edward IV. who ſeemed now to be firmly fixed on the throne of England. A truce of fifteen years was accordingly concluded at York, June 1, to commence on the laſt day of October in the ſame year, when a ſhort truce which then ſubſiſted would have ended [11].

Duke of Albany taken and releaſed. An event happened about the time that this truce was made, which threatened its immediate diſſolution. The Scottiſh regents having reſolved to ſend Alexander duke of Albany, the eldeſt of the king's two brothers, into France for his education, obtained a ſafe-conduct for him, and 200 perſons in his company, April 20, A. D. 1464, for one year, from Edward IV. in all his dominions, both by ſea and land [12]. But the young prince and his attendants were made priſoners on their paſſage, by ſome Engliſh ſhips. Theſe Engliſh mariners probably imagined, that this would be as agreeable to Edward as the capture of the prince of Scotland had been to Henry IV. But in this they were miſtaken. The prince with his ſuit were inſtantly ſet at liberty, and a proper apology made for what had happened.

[10] Godſcroft, p. 216. [11] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 525.
[12] Id. ibid. p. 520.

A ceſſa-

A. D. 1464. Negotiation.

A ceſſation of hoſtilities, and (if poſſible) a cordial friendſhip, were at this time very neceſſary to both the Britiſh nations: to the Scots, in the minority of their king; to the Engliſh, in the diſtracted ſtate of their country after the civil wars. Edward IV. ſeems to have done every thing in his power to ſecure peace on that ſide, and to gain the good-will of his neareſt neighbours. A few days after the late truce was made, he appointed commiſſioners to guard againſt the violation of it [13]. He granted a commiſſion, October 9. A. D. 1464, to John earl of Northumberland, Ralph lord Greyſtock, and four others, to meet with commiſſioners of the king of Scotland, November 6, to conſider the moſt effectual means of increaſing and perpetuating the peace that then ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms [14].

Long truce.

The regency of Scotland diſcovered no averſion to the pacific propoſals of the king of England. It ſeems probable that at the above meeting in November A. D. 1464, the plenipotentiaries had agreed, that—the marriage of the young king of Scots with an Engliſh princeſs—intermarriages between the noble families of the two kingdoms—and a definitive treaty of peace, inſtead of a truce, would be the moſt effectual means of perpetuating peace. For Edward gave a commiſſion to John Nevile earl of Northumberland, and eight others July 20, A. D. 1465, to meet with commiſſioners to be appointed by the king of Scots, and treat on

[13] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 527. [14] Id. ibid. p. 535.

A.D. 1465. theſe three ſubjects [15]. Accordingly the king of Scotland gave a commiſſion, at his caſtle of Down in Monteith, November 28, to the biſhops of Glaſgow and Aberdeen, David earl of Crawford, Colin earl of Argyle, the abbot of Holyroodhouſe, James lord Livingſton, James Lindſay provoſt of Lincluden, and ſir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, to meet with the Engliſh commiſſioners at Newcaſtle, on the 4th of December [16]. We hear of no marriages that were agreed upon at this meeting; nor could the commiſſioners ſettle the terms of a definitive treaty of peace; but they added forty years to the truce that then ſubſiſted, which prolonged it to A. D. 1519; a much longer period than there was any probability that it would be obſerved [17].

A.D. 1466. Death of biſhop Kennedy. James Kennedy, biſhop of St. Andrew's, died, May 10, A. D. 1466; and his death was a great calamity to his country [18]. His royal deſcent, his ſacred function, his great wiſdom, and many virtues had procured him great influence in all affairs; and that influence he conſtantly employed for the good of the king and kingdom. He had taken much pains with the education of the young king, who at this time was eſteemed a prince of great hopes [19].

King taken from Linlithgow. The good biſhop had not been three months in his grave, when the ſtate both of the court and country was unhappily changed. This was owing

[15] Rym Fœd. tom. 11. p. 546. [16] Id ibid. p. 549.
[17] Id. ibid p. 557. [18] Abercromby, vol. 2, p. 393.
[19] Buchan. lib. 12. p. 225.

to

to the unbounded ambition of the family of the Boydes; who roſe to the higheſt pitch of grandeur with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and with no leſs rapidity ſunk into the deepeſt diſtreſs. Robert lord Boyde of Kilmarnock, the head of that family, was at this time high juſticiary, and a member of the council of regency; and being a nobleman of an opulent fortune and great abilities, he had many friends. His brother ſir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and had been appointed to inſtruct the young king, in riding, tilting, and the other martial exerciſes of the times; which gave him great opportunities of gaining the favour of his royal pupil. While biſhop Kennedy lived, both theſe brothers behaved with great propriety; but as ſoon as that prelate died, knowing the intereſt they had in the affections of their prince, they formed a plot to get the entire poſſeſſion of his perſon, in order to ingroſs to themſelves, and diſpenſe to their friends, the honours and emoluments of the ſtate. This plot was artfully contrived and boldly executed. Sir Alexander Boyde inſpired the king with diſguſt at the ſtrictneſs of the lord Kennedy, who ſuperintended, and of the other gentlemen who conducted, his education; and perſuaded him, that, being in his 13th year, he ſhould aſſume the reins of government, and command thoſe whom he now obeyed. Finding that this project was highly pleaſing to the youthful monarch, he propoſed to take him out of the hands of his preceptors on a certain day, and conduct him to Edinburgh, where he ſhould take upon him the go- A.D. 1466.

A. D. 1466. vernment; to which the king agreed. In conſequence of this concert, ſir Alexander Boyde, with a few friends, came to the exchequer in Linlithgow early in the morning, July 10, and carried out the king, to give him, as they pretended, the diverſion of hunting. When they arrived on the field, they were received by the lords Boyde, Somerville, and other chieftains, at the head of a body of men well-armed and mounted, who ſtruck into the road to Edinburgh. The lord Kennedy, being ſoon informed of what had happened, followed with ſo much haſte, that he came up with them only a few miles on their way; and, laying his hand on the bridle of the king's horſe, earneſtly intreated him to return. But ſir Alexander Boyde, pretending to reſent the inſult, as he called it, offered to the king, gave lord Kennedy much injurious language, and at laſt ſtruck him a blow with his hunting-ſtaff; which obliged him to deſiſt from the ſtruggle, and return to Linlithgow, vowing revenge for the injuries he had received [20].

Parliament. Though the Boydes were now in poſſeſſion both of the heart and perſon of their prince, they were far from being eaſy in their minds. Knowing that what they had done in carrying off the king from the place appointed for his reſidence, had lately been declared high treaſon by an act of parliament, they were apprehenſive that they might one day be called to a ſevere account for that action [21]. To

[20] Buchan. l. 12. p. 225, 226. Ferrerii Append. Hiſt. Scot. f. 387. Hawthornden, p. 42. Abercromby. vol. 2. p. 394. Crawford's Officers of State, Append. p. 473.

[21] Black Acts, f. 30.

prevent this, they called a parliament in the king's name, to meet at Edindurgh, October 8, and on the 13th of that month, the lord Boyde fell on his knees before the king, ſeated on his throne, in full parliament, and entreated him to declare if he entertained any reſentment or diſpleaſure againſt him and his friends for conducting him from Linlithgow to Edinburgh. The king anſwered, as he had been inſtructed, "That he entertained no diſ- "pleaſure againſt the lord Boyde and his friends "for that action, which they had performed at "his own command, and for which they never "ſhould be called in queſtion." The lord Boyde then requeſted, that the king's gracious declaration ſhould be inſerted in the regiſters of parliament, and a copy of it delivered to him under the great ſeal; and both theſe requeſts were granted[22]. Certain lords were inveſted by this parliament with parliamentary powers, to continue till the next ſeſſion, which was appointed to begin January 31, A. D. 1467[23]. Theſe lords were particularly directed to commune about proper matches for the king, the princeſs Mary, his eldeſt ſiſter and his two brothers; and to ſettle all diſputes with the king of Denmark about the annual of Norway, which was an annuity of one hundred marks demanded by that king, in conſequence of a treaty between Alexander III. and Magnus IV. king of Norway, when that prince ceded the weſtern A. D. 1466.

[22] Crawford's Officers of State, Append. p 473.
[23] Black Acts, f. 46.

A. D. 1466. iſles to Scotland, A. D. 1266[24]. As this parliament was intirely under the influence of the Boydes, this meaſure was dictated by them, for purpoſes that ſoon appeared.

A. D. 1467. Elevation of the Boydes. As lord Boyde was now poſſeſſed of all the power of the crown, he determined to employ it to the aggrandiſement of his family. He was already high juſticiary, governor of the king and kingdom; and he now procured the great office of lord chamberlain for life, by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, Auguſt 25, A. D. 1467[25]. To crown the whole, he obtained the conſent of the king, and of the committee of parliament, to the marriage of the princeſs Mary with his eldeſt ſon ſir Thomas Boyde, who was created earl of Arran, and got grants of ſeveral valuable eſtates with his royal bride[26]. Thus the Boydes were raiſed as high as ſubjects could be raiſed, and their grandeur ſeemed to be built on the moſt ſolid foundation. They enjoyed the favour of their ſovereign in the higheſt degree, and were as intimately connected with the royal family as it was poſſible—they had great eſtates and many friends, and filled the higheſt offices in the kingdom[27]. But all this could not preſerve them from a ſudden and moſt deplorable reverſe of fortune, which they do not ſeem to have merited by any very remarkable abuſe of their proſperity.

[24] Black Acts, f. 46. Torfæi Hiſt. Orcad. p. 171.

[25] Crawford's Officers of State, p. 315. [26] Id. ibid.

[27] See lord Boyde's commiſſion of governor of the kingdom, and the king and his two brothers, Appendix, N° 2.

The

A. D. 1468. The king contracted.

The king being now in the fifteenth year, the Boydes, who had the direction of all affairs, very wiſely reſolved to provide a proper conſort for him, and fixed their thoughts on Margaret, only daughter of Chriſtiern I. king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, a princeſs famous for her beauty and amiable diſpoſitions. By this marriage they hoped to terminate the diſpute about the annual of Norway, which had of late become very ſerious, and to procure the ſovereignty of the Orkney and Shetland iſles, as well as a conſiderable ſum of money. Andrew lord Evandale, chancellor and couſin to the king, and Thomas Boyde earl of Arran, his brother-in-law, were appointed ambaſſadors to negotiate this marriage; and their commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal at Edinburgh, July 28, A. D. 1468[28]. Theſe ambaſſadors ſucceeded in their negotiation; and the contract of marriage between king James and the princeſs Margaret was ſealed at Copenhagen, September 8, of the ſame year[29]. By that contract, king Chriſtiern reſigned, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, all claim to the annual of Norway, and all arrears of that annual, and engaged to pay, as his daughter's marriage portion, 60,000 florins of the Rhine. Of theſe florins 10,000 were to be paid before his daughter left Denmark; and for the remaining 50,000 he mortgaged the Orkney iſlands, which were to be retained by the king of Scotland, and his ſucceſſors, till that money was paid. The pa-

[28] Torſſæi Hiſt. Orcad. p. 193, 194.

[29] Id. ibid. p. 197.

lace

A.D. 1468. lace of Linlithgow, and the caſtle of Down, with a third part of the revenues of the crown, were ſettled on the princeſs as her dowry [30]. As it was thought too late in the ſeaſon to conduct the princeſs into Scotland, the ambaſſadors returned to give an account of their negotiation.

A. D. 1469. Parliament. In the ſpring A. D. 1469, the earl of Arran was ſent with a good fleet, and a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, to bring home the young queen. He arrived at Copenhagen about the beginning of May. Chriſtiern I. being then at war with his Swediſh ſubjects, found it inconvenient to pay the 10,000 florins, which were to be paid before his daughter left Denmark. By a new treaty with the ambaſſador, therefore, May 20, he paid immediately 2000 florins, and mortgaged the Shetland iſles for the remaining 8000, and tranſmitted letters, dated May 28, to all his ſubjects in Orkney and Shetland, acquainting them with theſe tranſactions, and commanding them to pay their tribute to, and obey the king of Scotland and his ſucceſſors, till theſe iſlands were redeemed by him or his ſucceſſors [31].

Decline of the Boydes. King James and his royal bride being both very young, the earl of Arran made no haſte to return home. This was a fatal error, and proved ruinous to himſelf and all his family; for his father lord Boyde, and his uncle ſir Alexander, being both advanced in life, and much engaged in buſineſs,

[30] Torfæi Hiſt. Orcad. p. 197. [31] Id. ibid. p. 188, 189.

could

could not give ſo conſtant an attendance on the king as was neceſſary to ſecure his favour, and ſeclude others from his company, who might do them ill offices. Their enemies, of which they had many, and particularly the noble family of the Kennedies, who being nearly related to the royal family, had free acceſs to the king, neglected no opportunity of inſpiring him with ſuſpicions, fears, and jealouſy of the Boydes. They inſinuated,—that the lord Boyde, with his brother and ſon, had abuſed his goodneſs and favour by ingroſſing all the power and emoluments of the government to the excluſion of the other nobles, who were generally diſcontented; that they had diſgraced the royal family by the marriage of the princeſs Mary to the earl of Arran; they even hinted, that they had caſt ambitious eyes upon the crown, and that the king and his brothers were not ſafe while they were in the hands of that dangerous aſpiring family. Theſe, and ſuch inſinuations, frequently repeated by perſons who ſtudied to pleaſe him, and appeared to be ſo deeply concerned for his honour and ſafety, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the king's mind, that by degrees he was brought to fear and hate the Boydes more violently than he had ever loved them. When things had come to this criſis, and the king had entered warmly into the deſign of ruining the Boydes, a parliament was called to meet at Edinburgh, November 20, A. D. 1469; and the lord Boyde, his brother ſir Alexander, and his ſon the earl of Arran (though then in Denmark on the king's buſineſs),

A. D. 1469.

A. D. 1469. buſineſs), were ſummoned to appear before it, to anſwer to the accuſations that were to be brought againſt them [31].

Fall of the Boydes.

The lord Boyde was aſtoniſhed beyond meaſure at this unexpected change in the affections of his ſovereign. At firſt he reſolved to face the ſtorm, and to come to parliament with ſo great a retinue as would overawe his enemies. But finding that he had more powerful foes, and fewer friends than he had imagined, he diſmiſſed his followers, and fled into England, were he died, A. D. 1470. Sir Alexander Boyde being ſick, could not or would not fly. The parliament proceeded, November 22, to the trial of the lord Boyde, and his ſon the earl of Arran, in their abſence. They were accuſed of high treaſon, for taking the king out of the exchequer at Linlithgow, and bringing him to Edinburgh againſt his will, July 10, 1466, which, by act of parliament (ſays the record) and by the canon and civil law, is declared to be treaſon. No perſon appearing in their defence, they were immediately found guilty, and all their eſtates confiſcated. Sir Alexander Boyde was brought to the bar the ſame day, and accuſed of the ſame crime; to which he pleaded not guilty. The jury, which conſiſted of the following lords and barons, David earl of Crawford, James earl of Morton, William lord Abernethy, George lord Seaton, George lord Gordon, Alexander lord Glamis, George Halyburton, Walter lord Lorn, John Diſhington of

[31] Black Acts. f. 51. Buchan. p. 227, 228.

Ardroſſie,

Ardroſſie, Archibald Dundas of Dundas, John Stewart of Craigie, William thane of Calder, Alexander Straton of Laurieſton, John Wardlaw of Ricarton, George Campbell of Loudon, having heard the evidence and pleadings for the crown, and the defence of the priſoner, retired a little to deliberate, and then returned with a verdict, finding the priſoner guilty. He was then condemned to be beheaded on the caſtle hill of Edinburgh, the common place of execution, and his eſtate confiſcated. The parliament, November 27, annexed all the great eſtates of the Boyde family to the crown [32]. Thus fell the Boydes, from a height of power and opulence to which few ſubjects in Scotland ever attained, by a ruin equally ſudden and unexpected. If they really carried off the king from Linlithgow by force, intentionally corrupted his manners, and abuſed the facility of his youth, as was now alleged, their fate was not unmerited; but if they were innocent of all this, as they affirmed, it fixes an indelible ſtain on the memory of James III. or rather on thoſe who poſſeſſed his confidence, and took advantage of his youth and inexperience. A. D. 1469.

Though the earl of Arran muſt have heard in Denmark of theſe tranſactions, ſo fatal to his family and ſo threatening to himſelf, he determined to execute the honourable commiſſion with which he was inveſted, probably entertaining hopes, that the influence of the young and beautiful queen he A. D. 1470. Earl of Arran flees to Denmark.

[32] Trial of the Boydes, extracted from the Records, p. 187.

was

A. D. 1470. was bringing home, joined to that of his own affectionate conſort, the king's ſiſter, would procure his pardon, and bring him into favour. He ſailed from Copenhagen about the end of May A. D. 1470, and arrived in a few days in the frith of Forth. As ſoon as the fleet was diſcovered, the counteſs of Arran made her eſcape from Edinburgh in diſguiſe, and got on board her huſband's ſhip. But ſhe brought him no comfort, but that of mingling her tears with his, and declaring her reſolution to ſhare in all his fortunes; for ſhe aſſured him, that the power and malice of his enemies were then ſo great, that if he fell into their hands, he would certainly be put to death. On receiving this aſſurance, the unfortunate earl went with his counteſs on board a Daniſh ſhip in his fleet, and immediately returned to Denmark [33].

The king's marriage. After the flight of the earl of Arran, the fleet proceeded up the Frith; the queen landed at Leith, amidſt the loud acclamations of a prodigious multitude of people, and was married to the king, with uncommon feſtivity and pomp, June 15, A. D. 1470, the royal bridegroom being in his ſeventeenth, and the blooming bride in her ſixteenth year. Queen Margaret excelled all the princeſſes of that age (ſays Ferrerius) in beauty and the elegance of her perſon, but ſtill more in prudence, piety, modeſty, and ſweetneſs of temper [34]. Ten days after their marriage (June 25), the king granted her the caſtle and lordſhip of

[33] Buchan. l. 12. p 228. Ferrerius in Append. ad Hiſt. Boeth. f. 388.

[34] Id. Ibid.

Kilmar-

Kilmarnock, to purchaſe ornaments for her head, and ſome other parts of dreſs [35]. A. D. 1470.

The adventures of the unfortunate earl of Arran after his flight are not certainly known, as different accounts are given of them by different authors [36]. All we know with certainty is, that his conſort bore him a ſon and a daughter, while ſhe remained with him in exile [37]. The king her brother, or thoſe about him, uſed every poſſible means to prevail upon her to abandon her huſband and return home, but for a conſiderable time all theſe means were ineffectual. At length he directed or permitted her friends in Scotland to give her hopes, that if ſhe complied with the king's deſire, ſhe would probably procure the reſtoration of her huſband to his eſtates and honours. Influenced by theſe hopes, ſhe returned to Scotland, moſt probably A. D. 1473. But ſhe ſoon found that all applications in favour of her huſband were perfectly vain and hopeleſs, and that other deſigns were formed. A proſecution for a divorce from him was commenced (but whether with her conſent or not, or upon what grounds, we are not informed); and when we conſider how eaſily divorces were obtained in thoſe times, on a great variety of pretences, we have reaſon to believe that ſhe was actually divorced, and her marriage with the earl of Arran diſſolved. But however that might be, ſhe was married to James lord Hamilton in June A. D. 1474; but whether her former

A. D. 1741, &c. Lord Hamilton married to the king's ſiſter.

A. D. 1473, and A. D. 1474.

[35] Regiſter of the great ſeal, Regiſter-office, Edinburgh.
[36] Ferrer. f. 387. Buchan. p. 229. [37] Id. p. 228.

huſband

A. D. 1474. husband was then dead or not, is uncertain. The king granted a charter of the lands of Kinneil, and several other estates, to that lord and his wife Mary, the king's sister, dated July 12, A. D. 1474[38]. As king James was still young, it is uncertain what influence he had in these transactions.

A. D. 1475. Negotiations. Though the truce between the two British nations at this time was not well observed, and it was impossible to restrain the borders from mutual depredations; yet as those who had the chief direction of affairs in both kingdoms were averse to war, these depredations did not produce an open rupture. To prevent this, frequent meetings of the commissioners of both kings were held every year, for several years, for redressing abuses, and contriving regulations for the better observation of the truce, of which a minute detail would afford little instruction and no entertainment. Edward IV. after his restoration, A. D. 1471, that he might be at leisure to fix himself firmly on the throne, and take vengeance on his capital enemy the king of France, laboured earnestly to gain the friendship of the king, the nobles, and people of Scotland. With this view, he redressed all the injuries of which they complained with great alacrity, and set on foot a negotiation for promoting intermarriages between the great families of the two kingdoms, and between the two royal families[39]. In consequence of these ne-

[38] Register of the great seal, James III.

[39] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11, p. 716—719. 733. 740. 748. 758. 774. 776. 786—791.

gotiations,

gotiations, a contract of marriage was concluded at Edinburgh October 26, A. D. 1474, between James prince of Scotland and the princeſs Cecilia, king Edward's youngeſt daughter, though they were both in their infancy [40]. A. D. 1475.

The lords of the Iſles, earls of Roſs, had often rebelled, and been often ſubdued, but had never been cordial ſubjects to the kings of Scotland. We have already heard of the treaſonable confederacy into which John lord of the Iſles and earl of Roſs entered with Edward IV. and how that confederacy was defeated, A. D. 1462 [41]. That chieftain having about this time raiſed ſome freſh diſturbances, and been obliged to ſubmit, he was forfaulted November 27, A. D. 1475, in a parliament that met at Edinburgh on the 20th of that month. But in the next parliament, that met at the ſame place, July 4, A. D. 1476, the king, at the earneſt requeſt of the queen, and in conſideration of his relation to the royal family, with the conſent of the whole parliament, July 25, reſtored him to blood, created him a lord of parliament, by the title of *lord of the Iſles*, and granted him all his eſtates (which appear to have been very great), except the earldom of Roſs, the lordſhips of Kintyre and Knapdale, which were, by an act of the ſame parliament, annexed to the crown [42]. A. D. 1476. Earl of Roſs forfaulted.

[40] Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 824—834.

[41] See p. 362, &c.

[42] Regiſt. Magni Sigilli, Jacobi III. Crawford's Peerage, p. 233. Black Acts, fol. 62.

A.D. 1477. Death of the earl of Mar.

In the courſe of this year, an unhappy quarrel broke out between the king and his two brothers, the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, which was productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. James III. had a taſte for the fine arts, and ſpent much of his time in the company of thoſe who excelled in theſe arts, who poſſeſſed a much greater ſhare of his favour and bounty than they were intitled to by their rank in life. This gave great offence to his brothers, and to many of the ancient nobility, who were at no pains to conceal their contempt and hatred of thoſe upſtart favourites, and their diſſatisfaction with the king on their account. The earl of Mar, being young, fierce, and paſſionate, was moſt unguarded in his expreſſions of reſentment againſt the king, and threats of vengeance on his minions; for which he was confined, firſt at Craigmillar, and afterwards in the Canongate, where he died [43]. The manner of his death is not certainly known; but the moſt probable account that is given of it ſeems to be this,—that the exceſs of his rage at his confinement threw him into a fever and phrenzy, of which he died [44].

A.D. 1478. Eſcape of the duke of Albany.

The death of the earl of Mar, whatever the manner of it was, greatly increaſed the diſſatisfaction of the diſcontented nobles with the king, and their rage againſt his favourites. The duke of Albany, not being able to conceal his indignation and deſigns of vengeance, was ſuddenly ſeized, and

[43] Ferrer. fol. 391. Buchan, p. 252. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 428.

[44] Hawthornden, p. 47.

com-

committed a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh, with only one page to attend him. Dreading either a public trial and execution, or private aſſaſſination, the duke made his eſcape out of the caſtle with great difficulty, and got on board a ſhip at Leith, which carried him to his caſtle of Dunbar. Thinking it unſafe to ſtay in that place, he made his eſcape into France; and the caſtle was ſoon after ſurrendered to the king [45]. A. D. 1478.

The duke of Albany was kindly received by Lewis XI. king of France; but that wiſe prince refuſed to employ any other means but in treaty and perſuaſion to obtain his reſtoration. He accordingly ſent John Ireland, doctor of the Sorbonne, a Scotſman, famous for his eloquence and learning, as his ambaſſador to the king of Scotland, to perſuade and intreat him to be reconciled to his brother, and reſtore him to his eſtates and honours. The ambaſſador was well choſen, and rendered himſelf highly acceptable to the king, by his preaching and converſation; but he was obliged to return without any ſucceſs in his embaſſy. In the mean time, the king of France procured for the duke an advantageous marriage with a daughter of the earl of Boulogne, with an ample fortune; which enabled him to live in his exile in a manner ſuitable to his rank [46]. A. D. 1479. Marriage of the duke of Albany.

That harmony and friendly intercourſe which had ſubſiſted ſeveral years between the two Britiſh courts, was now unhappily interrupted. This was A. D. 1482. Breach of the truce between

[45] Ferrer. p. 392. Buchan. p. 232. [46] Ferrer. fol. 392.

owing

A.D. 1480. England and Scotland.

owing to the intrigues of the duke of Albany, and a diſcontented party of the Scots nobility, who carried on a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of England, and the exiled earl of Douglas, inviting them to invade their country, and promiſing them their aſſiſtance. Though king Edward had often declared the moſt determined reſolution to obſerve the truce that then ſubſiſted between the two nations; nay, though he had concluded a contract of marriage between the prince of Scotland and his youngeſt daughter, and had even paid a part of her portion, he had not the reſolution to reſiſt the proſpect that now preſented itſelf, of recovering the town of Berwick, and of gaining other advantages, by the diſtractions of his neighbours. The borderers were encouraged to make incurſions into Scotland; which were inſtantly returned, and the flames of war were kindled in a moment[47]. In the preamble to the commiſſion which he granted, May 12, A.D. 1480, to his brother Richard duke of Glouceſter, to be his lieutenant-general, he ſays, that—"James king of Scotland, inflamed "with inveterate enmity and obdurate hatred, "diſregarding the honour of his own name, and "deſpiſing all nobility, had determined to break "all his promiſes, and make war upon him:"—expreſſions which were plainly calculated to pleaſe the diſcontented nobles of Scotland[48]. He granted another commiſſion, June 20, to the duke of Glouceſter, the earl of Northumberland, and many

47 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 23. 41. 53. Stow, p. 432.
48 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 115.

other

other lords and gentlemen, to array all his ſubjects capable of bearing arms in the northern counties, to defend the kingdom againſt the Scots[49]. A. D. 1480.

King James, either inſtigated by the king of France and his own confidents, or forced to it by preparations in England, prepared for war. The incurſions of the Engliſh rouſed the national animoſity of the Scots, who crouded to his ſtandard; and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a gallant army, with which he marched towards the borders, before the duke of Glouceſter was ready to oppoſe him. But his progreſs was ſtopped by a ſtratagem. A meſſenger, or rather one who pretended to be a meſſenger, from the pope's legate in England, met him, and in the pope's name enjoined him to lay down his arms, that all Chriſtian princes might unite their forces againſt the common enemy, the Turks. James, naturally diſinclined to war, and believing that a ſimilar injunction (as he was told) had been laid on the king of England, diſbanded his army[50]. Towards the end of this year, the Engliſh army, commanded by the duke of Glouceſter, made an unſucceſsful attempt on the town and caſtle of Berwick[51]. Stratagem.

A conciſe account hath been already given of the tranſactions between the two Britiſh nations in this and the two ſucceeding years; but in this place it will be proper to be a little more particular[52]. A. D. 1481. Preparations of Edward.

[49] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 117.
[50] Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 434. Black Acts, fol. 65.
[51] Ibid. [52] See p. 240—242.

A. D. 1481. Edward, determined to make an attempt againſt Scotland by ſea, granted commiſſions, February 15, to certain maſters of ſhips, to preſs as many ſailors as would be ſufficient to man a fleet of eleven ſail againſt his faithleſs and ancient enemy the king of Scots [53]. He gave a ſimilar commiſſion, March 2, to nine gentlemen, to provide artillery, ammunition, and arms of all kinds, to be carried into the north, for the uſe of an army, to reſiſt an expected invaſion from Scotland [54]. That nothing might divert the attention of his ſubjects from the buſineſs of the war, he ſhut up the courts of juſtice till Michaelmas [55]. He alſo appointed commiſſioners to negotiate a treaty with his moſt dear couſins, the lord of the Iſles and Donald Gorne; and in a word neglected nothing to render himſelf formidable to his enemies [56].

Parliament. King James was no leſs active in his preparations. He called a parliament, which met at Edinburgh April 2, and formed the moſt ſpirited reſolutions for a vigorous proſecution of the war. They declared their own and their ſovereign's pacific diſpoſitions and willingneſs to keep the truce, which had been intimated to the king of England by a herald and purſuivant, who had been detained long, and ſent back contemptuouſly without any anſwer. They expreſſed the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the reifar (robber) Edward, who, prompted by avarice and ambition, had determined,

53 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 139.
54 Id. ibid. p. 140.
55 Id. ibid. p. 141.
56 Id. ibid.

termined, if he could, to make a conqueſt of the kingdom, and ſolemnly promiſed to defend their king's perſon and family with their lives and fortunes, as their anceſtors had often done. The king, on his part, conſidering the ſincere affection and hearty love of his ſubjects, promiſed to govern according to law, and by the advice of his parliament, which appointed ambaſſadors to be ſent by the king and the three eſtates to the king of France, to ſolicit his aſſiſtance. They commanded all the lieges to be armed, and frequently exerciſed, and to join the royal ſtandard within eight days after they were charged: they beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on the king, for having repaired the fortifications of Berwick, and furniſhed it with a garriſon of 500 men, at his own expence; and, in conſideration of this, the three eſtates engaged to raiſe and pay 500 men to defend the other caſtles on the borders: they commanded all the lords to fortify their own caſtles, and furniſh them with artillery, ammunition, and men: they made many excellent regulations for procuring and conveying intelligence; and ſtill further, to ſhew their loyalty, they ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, offering the reward of a freehold eſtate of 100 marks a-year, and 1000 marks in money, to any man who ſhould kill, or bring to the king, the exiled earl of Douglas, and ſmaller rewards for his accomplices[57]. It is very remarkable, that Archibald earl of Angus was preſent in this affectionate A. D. 1481.

[57] See Black Acts, fol 65—68.

A.D. 1481. and loyal parliament, and was ſworn in, April 11, warden of the eaſt marches, a place of the greateſt truſt and honour [58]. This diſcovers the deep diſſimulation of that great earl, who was a moſt inveterate enemy to the unhappy king, as ſoon after appeared.

Military operations. Though great armies were raiſed in both kingdoms this year, and marched towards the borders, they ſtood on the defenſive, and did not come to any deciſive action. The Engliſh fleet, with troops on board, ſailed up the frith of Forth; and the troops attempting to land in ſeveral places, were repulſed. At length they burnt the village of Blackneſs, carried off a few merchant-ſhips, and then returned to their own coaſts [59].

A.D. 1482. Treaties. Alexander duke of Albany, finding it impoſſible to perſuade the king of France to aſſiſt him in making war againſt his brother and his native country, privately left his family, and came over to the court of England in the ſpring of this year [60]. Soon after his arrival, he entered into ſuch engagements with king Edward as diſcover him to have been a man void of every principle of honour, and capable of the moſt criminal and atrocious enterpriſes. By a charter, dated at Fotheringay, June 10 (in which he ſtyled himſelf Alexander king of Scotland, with as little ceremony as if his brother king James and all his children had been dead), he engaged—to ſwear

58 Records of Parliament, 1481, Regiſter-office, Edinburgh.
59 Ferrer. fol. 394.
60 Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 154.

fealty

fealty to king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, within ſix months after he had got poſſeſſion of the greater part of that kingdom—to diſſolve all the confederacies between Scotland and France —and to ſurrender the town and caſtle of Berwick [61]. The day after he entered into ſtill more baſe and infamous engagements. In a charter, dated June 11, he had the meanneſs to ſtyle himſelf, "King of Scotland, by the gift of the king "of England," and engaged to give up Annandale, Liddiſdale, Eſkdale, and Ewſdale, with the caſtle of Lochmaben. Nay, though he had a connection with a daughter of the earl of Orkney, which the lady and her family eſteemed a lawful marriage, and though he was ſolemnly married to a daughter of the earl of Boulogne, and had a ſon by each of theſe ladies; yet he now engaged to marry the princeſs Cecilia, king Edward's youngeſt daughter (who had been contracted to James prince of Scotland), if he could get clear of other women [62]. In a word, nothing could be more diſhonourable than the deſigns of the duke of Albany at this time; and yet that duke is repreſented by the generality of our hiſtorians, and was then believed by the great body of the people, to be an innocent, oppreſſed patriot, and his brother king James a moſt cruel, unprovoked tyrant. A. D. 1482.

As ſoon as Edward had concluded theſe treaties with the duke of Albany, he appointed, June 12, his brother the duke of Glouceſter his lieutenant- Berwick inveſted.

[61] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 156. [62] Id. ibid.

A. D. 1482. general, to command the army againſt Scotland [61]. That army, conſiſting of 22,500 choſen men, rendezvouſed at Alnwick; and marching from thence under the command of the dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, the earl of Northumberland, and ſeveral other noblemen, inveſted the town and caſtle of Berwick about the beginning of July [64].

The king's favourites hanged.

King James, having raiſed an army to oppoſe this formidable invaſion, directed his march towards the borders; and about the end of June encamped at the town of Lauder. At that place a cruel and unexpected tragedy was acted, which threatened the ruin of the king and kingdom. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was at this time the moſt powerful nobleman in Scotland, having obtained from the crown many of the eſtates of the exiled earl of Douglas. He was married to a daughter of the late regent Robert lord Boyde; and though he was not involved in the ruin of the Boydes, he ſecretly reſented the ſeverity with which they had been treated, and was deeply engaged in the treaſonable ſchemes of the duke of Albany. This potent earl had a private meeting in the night with the noblemen and gentlemen of his party, in the church of Lauder, to conſult about the deſtruction of the royal favourites, as the moſt effectual means of diſtreſſing the king and defeating the preſent expedition. At this meeting one of the members repeated the following fable: "The mice (ſaid "he) held a meeting, to conſult about the beſt

[61] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 156. [64] Stow, p. 432.

"means

" means of preſerving themſelves from the cats. A.D. 1482.
" One mouſe propoſed to hang a bell about the
" cat's neck, that, by its ringing when the cat
" moved, they might have warning of their dan-
" ger. But when it was aſked, who will bell the
" cat? none of them had ſo much courage."
The earl of Angus taking the hint, cried out—I will bell the cat; which procured him the nickname of *Archibald Bell-the-cat* ever after. Having formed their plan, they left the church; and, attended by a body of armed men, entered the royal tent early in the morning, and there ſeized ſix of the king's moſt favoured confidents, viz. Robert Cochran an architect, maſter of the works, ſir William Rogers a muſician, Thomas Preſton, James Hommel, William Torfefan, and one Leonard. John Ramſay of Balmain, a young gentleman of a good family, was ſaved, by claſping the king in his arms. After upbraiding the king in very ſevere terms, for ſpending his time in ſuch unworthy company, they carried off the ſix unhappy victims, and hanged them over the bridge of Lauder. The king, ſtruck with conſternation at this cruel outrage, retired, with his uncle, the earl of Athol, and ſome other noblemen, to the caſtle of Edinburgh, or (as ſome hiſtorians report) was carried thither and guarded as a priſoner. The army diſbanded in great confuſion, every chieftain conducting his followers wherever he pleaſed [65].

[65] Ferrer. f. 395. Buchan. lib. 12. p. 234. Hawthornden, p. 50. Godſcroft, p. 223, &c. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 446.

A. D. 1432. Progreſs of the Engliſh arms.

The garriſon in the town of Berwick, having probably heard of what had happened at Lauder, ſurrendered that place to the Engliſh army; but the lord Hailes, who commanded in the caſtle, made a brave defence. The dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, not thinking it prudent to ſpend their time before that fortreſs, left 4000 men to block it up, and marched northward with the reſt of their army. They met with no enemy by the way, and took poſſeſſion of the city of Edinburgh without any oppoſition [66].

Pacification.

It is hardly poſſible to conceive any country in a more deplorable condition than Scotland was at this time. The king was ſhut up in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the queen and prince in the caſtle of Stirling: the nobility were divided into factions, and the enemy in poſſeſſion of the capital: but it was ſaved by the wiſdom and fortitude of a few real patriots. William archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, James biſhop of Dunkeld, Andrew lord Evandale, chancellor, and Colin earl of Argyle, who had formed a ſmall army of their followers near Haddington, ſent propoſals for an accommodation to the dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, which were favourably received, and an accommodation was concluded at Edinburgh, Auguſt 2, on the following conditions:—1. The above prelates and noblemen engage, that if the duke of Albany ſhall behave as a loyal ſubject to his brother James king of Scotland, he ſhould enjoy perfect freedom and ſafety in that kingdom.

[66] Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 450.

2. That

2. That they would prevail upon the king to reſtore him to all his honours, offices, and eſtates. A. D. 1482. 3. That they would procure a pardon for him and all his followers (except ſuch as were excepted by the laſt parliament), for all crimes, and particularly for his aſpiring to the throne when he was in England. 4. That they would procure the ratification of all this by the king in the next parliament [67]. By the third article in the above agreement it plainly appears, that ſome of the treaſonable tranſactions of the duke of Albany in England, particularly his intended uſurpation of the throne, had come to the knowledge of king James and his miniſters. What induced the dukes of Glouceſter and Albany to make this agreement, and drop the proſecution of their ſchemes of conqueſt, it is difficult to diſcover, but it will ſoon appear that they had ſtill theſe ſchemes in view.

Greatneſs of the duke of Albany.

Soon after this pacification, the duke of Glouceſter returned with his army into England, and the duke of Albany joined his countrymen. Having viſited the queen and prince at Stirling, he came back to Edinburgh, where a very curious piece of political mummery was exhibited. The duke, aſſiſted by the provoſt, bailies, and ſome of the citizens, made an attack upon the caſtle, took it by aſſault, and ſet the king at liberty, without one drop of blood being ſpilt on either ſide. The king received his brother with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of gratitude for his deliverance; and the

[67] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 160.

duke

A. D. 1482. duke made the warmeſt profeſſions of inviolable love and loyalty to the king. To convince the people that the reconciliation between the royal brothers was perfectly ſincere and cordial, they rode on one horſe from the caſtle to Holy-rood-houſe, amidſt the acclamations of the deluded multitude[68]. This farce (for it deſerves no better name) was carried ſtill further. The duke of Albany was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom, lord high admiral, and warden both of the eaſt and weſt marches, by which the whole power of the crown was put into his hands. Beſides all this, the king made him a grant of the earldoms of Mar and Garioch, which, with his great eſtates of Albany, March, Annandale, and the iſle of Man, made him as opulent as he was powerful. In the preamble of that grant, the king loads the duke with the higheſt praiſes for his fidelity, loyalty, fraternal affection, faithful ſervices, &c.; though he perfectly well knew that he had come with an Engliſh army to dethrone himſelf and diſinherit his poſterity[69]. A few days after (November 16), the king gave a charter to the provoſt, bailies, and community of Edinburgh,

[68] Pitſcottie, p. 82.

[69] Nos alta mente conſiderans fidem, legalitatem, amorem, benevolentiam, fraternam caritatem, pietatem, cordiale ſervitium, et virtutis obſequium, quod frater noſter cariſſimus Alexander Albanie dux, comes Marchie, dominus vallis Annandie et Mannie, generalis locum tenens, magnus regni noſtri admiralus, ac guardianus orientalium et occidentalium marchiarum ejuſdem verſus Angliam, nobis jamdudum provide præſtitit, noſtram de carceribus ex caſtro noſtro de Edinburgh liberando perſonam, &c. Ex Regiſt. Magni Sigilli Jacobi III. Edinburgh.

called

called the *golden charter*, containing various gifts and privileges, which they had merited by their loyalty and important ſervices [70]. A. D. 1482.

The ſeeming reconciliation of the royal brothers, and the proſperity of the duke of Albany, were of ſhort duration. That turbulent ambitious duke, fearing, or pretending to fear, ſome machinations againſt his life, retired from court about the beginning of this year, and ſhut himſelf up in his ſtrong caſtle of Dunbar, and renewed his treaſonable correſpondence with the court of England. He gave a commiſſion, January 12, to three of his moſt zealous partiſans, and bittereſt enemies of the king his brother, Archibald Bell-the-cat, earl of Angus, Andrew lord Gray, and ſir James Liddale of Halkerſton, to renew the treaty of Fotheringay with Edward IV. who appointed, February 9, Henry earl of Northumberland, John lord Scroope, and ſir William Parre, to treat with them. Theſe commiſſioners met at Weſtminſter, and concluded a treaty, February 11, that fixes an indelible ſtain of infamy on the character of the duke of Albany, and of all who promoted his baſe deſigns. By that treaty it is ſtipulated,—1. That there ſhall be entire love and friendſhip between king Edward and the duke of Albany; and that they ſhall aſſiſt each other, with all their power, againſt all men: 2. That there ſhall be a truce between the ſubjects of the king of England and the favourers of the duke of Albany, who ſhall give one liſt of their names, and another of the A. D. 1483. Infamous treaty.

70 Ex Regiſt. Magni Sigilli Jacobi III. Edinburgh.

names

A. D. 1483. names of thoſe who were not his friends, that the the laſt might not have the benefit of the truce: 3. That the dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, the earls of Northumberland and Angus, ſhall be judges of all violations of this truce: 4. That during the truce, the duke of Albany ſhall exert all his power to acquire the crown of Scotland to himſelf, that he and the nobles of his party may do mighty ſervice to the king of England againſt the king of France: 5. That king Edward ſhall aſſiſt the duke with competent forces in acquiring the crown; and that the duke ſhall never make peace with his brother James, or any of his offſpring: 6. The three ambaſſadors engage for themſelves, on their honour and knighthood, that if the duke of Albany ſhall deceaſe without iſſue, they, and all whom they can influence, ſhall become ſubjects of the king of England, and ſhall keep their caſtles from James, now king of Scots, and his ſucceſſors: 7. That the duke of Albany, within forty days after he obtains the crown, ſhall diſſolve all the leagues between his kingdom and France: 8. That the duke, when he becomes king, ſhall declare himſelf, his heirs, his nobles, and all his ſubjects, to be for the king of England, to ſerve him with all their forces, at their own coſt, as often as required, againſt all princes, particularly againſt the king of France: 9. That the duke and his heirs ſhall never claim the town of Berwick: 10. That the duke, when king, ſhall reſtore the earl of Douglas to his lands, according to an agreement between that earl and the earl of

Angus: 11. That the duke, being king, ſhall marry one of the king of England's daughters, without a fortune. Could any thing be more unnatural and infamous than this treaty on the part of the duke of Albany, and his ambaſſadors? How much was king James to be pitied, who had ſuch a brother and ſuch ſubjects[71]! And yet (ſo much are the characters of princes and great men ſometimes miſtaken by their contemporaries, and miſrepreſented to poſterity) the duke and his confederates were believed by a great body of the people to be the champions of the honour and independency of their country, and have been celebrated as ſuch by ſome of our hiſtorians[72]. A. D. 1483.

The effects of this treaty were prevented, by the death of the king of England, in leſs than two months after it was concluded. King James, about the ſame time, loſt his amiable and virtuous conſort, queen Margaret of Denmark, who died at Stirling, and was buried in the abbey of Cambuſkenneth, near that town. Death of queen Margaret.

King James, having diſcovered the treaſonable correſpondence of the duke of Albany with the court of England, cauſed him and ſir James Liddale of Halkerſton to be ſummoned to appear before a parliament that was to meet at Edinburgh, June 27, A. D. 1483, to anſwer to a charge of high treaſon. They both made their eſcape into England; and the duke, before his departure, de- Parliament.

[71] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 173—175.

[72] Buchan. lib. 12. p. 233. Pitſcottie, p. 85. Godſcroft, p. 227, 228.

livered

A.D. 1483. livered his caſtle of Dunbar to an Engliſh garriſon from Berwick. Their trials came on in parliament, July 8, when they were found guilty of high treaſon (in their abſence, but on the cleareſt evidence), condemned to death, and all their honours, offices, lands, and goods, forfeited. But what is moſt remarkable, both the earl of Angus and the lord Gray (who, with ſir James Liddale, had made the above treaſonable treaty with Edward IV.), ſat as judges at theſe trials; and were even appointed members of a committee to inquire of what lands and goods the two condemned traitors were poſſeſſed [73]. Whether Angus and Gray had ſo effectually concealed their treaſons as to eſcape ſuſpicion; or their great power and that of their friends protected them, or the king, by this extraordinary lenity, hoped to gain them, it is impoſſible for us, at this diſtance of time, to diſcover. But certainly nothing ever exceeded the effrontery of theſe two lords, in ſitting in judgment on their accomplices, with whom they knew they were equally guilty.

A.D. 1484. Parliament. William lord Crichton, a zealous partiſan of the duke of Albany, fortified his caſtle of Crichton, and refuſed to ſurrender it to the king; but finding that it was not tenable, he fled into England. In the next ſeſſion of parliament that met at Edinburgh, February 24, A.D. 1484, lord Crichton was found guilty of high treaſon; and the earl of Angus and lord Gray, ſtill wearing the maſk of

[73] Records of Parliament in the Regiſter-office, Edinburgh.

loyalty,

loyalty, ſat as judges at his trial[74]. At the earneſt requeſt of parliament, the king promiſed to give no remiſſion to any perſon convicted of treaſon, for two years to come: a promiſe which the too great tenderneſs of his heart did not permit him to keep[75]. The parliament further adviſed the king to a ſtrict obſervation of the truce that had been made with England, to take great pains to reconcile his nobility to each other, and to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar in the beginning of May[76]. But this laſt advice was either not complied with, or the attempt was unſucceſsful. A. D. 1484.

When the duke of Albany arrived in England, he found every thing in confuſion; and his great friend the duke of Glouceſter, who had uſurped that throne, in no condition to aſſiſt him to uſurp another. But being inflamed by ambition and incapable of repoſe, he determined, with the aid of the long-exiled earl of Douglas, to try his fortune in the field. Having collected a body of about 500 horſemen, chiefly compoſed of the robbers and plunderers in the Engliſh borders, the duke and earl entered Annandale, and approached the town of Lochmaben, June 22, being the day of a great fair. The people at this fair, having their arms (according to the cuſtom of the borders in thoſe times) to protect their goods, the lairds of Johnſtone, Cockpool, and other gentlemen, put themſelves at their head, and oppoſed the invaders. Battle of Lochmaben.

[74] Records of Parliament in the Regiſter-office, Edinburgh.
[75] Ib.d. Black Acts, f. 70. [76] Ibid.

A fierce

A.D. 1484. A fierce conflict enſued, which continued ſeveral hours, with various ſucceſs. At length the Engliſh were put to flight; the duke of Albany eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe; but the earl of Douglas was taken by Alexander Kirkpatrick, and carried priſoner to Edinburgh. Nothing can place the merciful diſpoſition of king James in a fairer point of view than his treatment of this hoary traitor, who had been the author of ſo many troubles to his country. Inſtead of commanding him to be executed on his former ſentence, or bringing him to trial for his recent treaſons, he only confined him to the abbey of Lindores[77]. How inexcuſable are thoſe hiſtorians who have repreſented this prince as a cruel, implacable tyrant, who never forgave an injury[78].

Death of Albany. Soon after his repulſe at Lochmaben, the duke of Albany left England, and went to the court of France, where he received a wound in a tournament, of which he died[79]. This turbulent, ambitious prince, who had formed ſo many conſpiracies againſt his too indulgent brother, left two ſons, Alexander biſhop of Moray, and John duke of Albany, who became regent of Scotland in the minority of James V[80].

Truce, &c. The captivity of the earl of Douglas, and the death of the duke of Albany, broke all the meaſures of the earl of Angus and his partiſans, and obliged them to remain quiet for ſome time. They

77 Buchan. lib. 12. p. 236.
78 Ibid.
79 Ferrer. f. 397.
80 Crawford's Peerage, p. 7, 8.

were

were under the greater neceſſity of doing this, that a three-years truce with England was concluded at Nottingham, September 21, A. D. 1484; and at the ſame place, on the ſame day, a contract of marriage was ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of both kings, between James prince of Scotland and Ann de la Pole, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and niece to Richard III. by his ſiſter[81]. A congreſs was appointed to be held at York, on the next feaſt of the Virgin Mary, to ſettle all particulars reſpecting the intended marriage[82]. A. D. 1484.

King James laid the treaties of the truce and marriage before his parliament at Edinburgh, May 26, A. D. 1485. The parliament (in which the earl of Angus was preſent) approved of both theſe treaties; and appointed an honourable embaſſy to be ſent to the congreſs at York, conſiſting "of "a biſhop, ane earl, ane honourable and wiſe "clerk, a lord of parliament, a knight yat is a "baroun, and a ſquiar yat is a baroun, and with "yame ſervandis to complete to the noumer of "fifti-twa perſonis, and yat yai ſall hail to yr ex-"penſis five hundreth pundis Scottis[83]." But the troubles in England, which terminated in the death of Richard III. prevented the meeting of the congreſs at York. The parliament alſo appointed an embaſſy to be ſent to the pope, to ob- A. D. 1485. Parliament.

[81] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 236—246. [82] Id. ibid.

[83] Records of Parliament. The publication called the Black Acts is not a faithful tranſcript from the Records. The above tranſaction, for example, and many others, are aſcribed to a parliament that met February 24, A. D. 1484.

A. D. 1485. tain, amongſt other things, his approbation of the diſſolution of the priory of Coldingham, and the annexation of its revenues to the chapel royal in Stirling caſtle, agreeable to the ſentence of two cardinals, to whom that matter had been referred [84]. This is a ſufficient evidence that the parliament approved of that meaſure; but as it produced very fatal effects, it merits a more particular narration.

Diſaffection of the Humes and Hepburns.

Stirling caſtle, on account of its beautiful ſituation and delightful proſpects, was the favourite reſidence of James III. in which he built a palace, with an elegant chapel. To procure funds for the ſupport of a dean, prebends, a numerous band of ſingers, muſicians, and other officers, he ſuppreſſed, by a regular proceſs, the priory of Coldingham, and endowed his chapel with its revenues. This gave great offence to the Humes (a numerous and powerful clan in the Merſe), who had been accuſtomed to receive profitable leaſes and other advantages from the priors, who were generally of their own name; and they having entered into a bond of mutual aſſiſtance with the Hepburns, both became exceedingly turbulent and diſaffected to the king, and brought a great acceſſion of ſtrength to his ſecret enemies [85].

Caſtle of Dunbar recovered.

The caſtle of Dunbar was ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh; but being beſieged in the ſummer of this year, it was taken without much difficulty,

[84] Records of Parliament.

[85] Pitſcottie, p. 86. Hawthornden, p. 108.

the garriſon deſpairing of receiving any ſuccours [86]. A.D. 1485.

Henry VII. ſoon after his acceſſion, began to cultivate the friendſhip of the king of Scotland; and a truce for three years, from July 3, A.D. 1486, was concluded by the plenipotentiaries of both kings, after a negotiation of ſeveral days, in the months of June and July [87]. From this truce it appears, that Archibald earl of Angus ſtill enjoyed the favour and confidence of his ſovereign, as he was appointed warden of the eaſt and middle marches, and one of the conſervators of the truce [88]. It is alſo remarkable, that John Ramſay of Balmain, lately created lord Bothwell, was one of the negotiators of this truce; which is the firſt time we meet with any of king James's favourites (about whom there hath been ſo much noiſe) employed in any important or national tranſaction. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh, October 24, A. D. 1486 [89]. A.D. 1486. Truce.

Several inſurrections in England, and the affair of Lambert Simnel, having convinced Henry VII. that he had many enemies both at home and abroad, he became very deſirous of a more ſecure peace with the kingdom, and a more intimate connection with the royal family, of Scotland. With this view he ſent Richard biſhop of Exeter, and Richard Edgecombe, comptroller of his houſehold, ambaſſadors to Edinburgh, to negotiate theſe affairs; and king James appointed William biſhop of Aber- A.D 1487. Treaty.

[86] Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 468. p. 285—292.
[87] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12.
[88] Id. ibid.
[89] Id. ibid. p. 3 6.

A.D. 1487. deen, and John lord Bothwell, to treat with them. Theſe plenipotentiaries having agreed upon certain preliminaries for a truce and intended intermarriages, one copy of them was ſigned by Carliſle herald, commiſſioned by the king of England, and delivered at Edinburgh, November 17, to Snowdon herald, who, by virtue of a commiſſion from the king of Scotland, ſigned and delivered another copy to Carliſle herald at the ſame time. By theſe preliminaries,—the truce was prolonged—a marriage was propoſed between James marquis of Ormond, king James's ſecond ſon, and the third daughter of the late king Edward IV.; another between king James and queen Eliſabeth, Edward's widow, and a third between James prince of Scotland, and ſuch another daughter of king Edward as ſhould be agreed upon by the two kings. As the king of Scotland inſiſted on the delivery of Berwick to him, that matter was to be finally ſettled before any of theſe marriages took effect. To bring theſe important affairs nearer a concluſion, another meeting of the plenipotentiaries was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, January 24, A. D. 1488, and a ſecond in the month of May, at a place to be agreed upon; and that the two kings ſhould have a perſonal interview in July [90].

Parliament. King James called a parliament that met at Edinburgh, October 1, A. D. 1487; and both the earl of Angus and his eldeſt ſon were preſent. The parliament made an affecting repreſentation to the king of the deplorable diſtreſs and diſorder

[90] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 328—332.

of the kingdom, "throw treſoun, ſlauchter, reif, A. D. 1487
"birning, theft, and oppin heirſchip, throw de-
"fault of ſcharpe execution of juſtice, and over
"commoun granting of grace and remiſſiounis to
"treſpaſſouris." The king, at the earneſt requeſt of the three eſtates, promiſed to give no remiſſion to any perſon who was guilty of any of the above crimes for ſeven years. This promiſe gave great ſatisfaction, which is expreſſed in the following ſtrong terms:—"Becauſe our ſoverane lord has ſo
"graciouſly applyit him to the counſall of his
"thre eſtatis at this tyme in all thingis concern-
"ing thame, and the commoun proffeit of the
"realme, and beninglie grantit to thame all thair
"deſyre and requeiſtis that they have maid to his
"majeſtie; all the lordis ſpiritual and temporal,
"barronis, frehalders, and communities of the
"eſtatis of the realme hes freclie grantit, that ever
"ilk ane of thame for himſelf, ſall faithfully pro-
"mit and ſweir, that they ſall not in tyme to cume
"mantein, fortifie, ſupplie, defend, nor be ad-
"vocatis, nor ſtand at the bar, with manifeſt tra-
"touris, nor commoun men ſlayares, theiffis,
"reiffaris, nor other treſpaſſouris." The parliament, in this ſeſſion, made many excellent regulations for preventing the crimes above mentioned, and for bringing thoſe who were guilty of them to juſtice. In particular, they made it high treaſon, "to do or attempt to do contrare the union and
"annexatioun maid of the pryorie of Colding-
"hame to the king's chapel royal [91]."

[91] Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 75—78.

A. D. 1488. Second ſeſſion.

The ſecond ſeſſion of this parliament began at Edinburgh, January 29, A. D. 1488; and from the records, it ſeems to have been animated by the ſame ſpirit of loyalty, and entire ſatisfaction with the king and his adminiſtration, as the former. The three eſtates approved of the preliminary treaty reſpecting the propoſed marriages between the two royal families, and appointed plenipotentiaries to attend the meeting that was to be in May about that matter, and gave them expreſs inſtructions, not to conſent to a peace, or to any of the marriages, unleſs the king of England agreed to reſtore, or at leaſt to deſtroy, the town and caſtle of Berwick. The king, in full parliament, created his ſecond ſon duke of Roſs, and the barons Drummond, Yeſter, Sanquhar, and Ruthven, lords of parliament. The laſt act of this ſeſſion is remarkable. The Humes and Hepburns had paid no regard to the late act, declaring it high treaſon to obſtruct the annexation of Coldinghame to the chapel royal, but had oppoſed that meaſure with the greateſt violence. The parliament therefore appointed a committee, with parliamentary powers, to try all who had violated that act; and the earl of Angus, with the chief men of his party, were members of that committee [92]. So artfully had they concealed their treaſonable machinations, that the king, at this time, believed them to be his beſt friends. The parliament was then adjourned to the 5th of May; but it was diſſolved by proclamation, February 21, and a new parliament was

[92] Records of Parliament.

ſummoned

ſummoned to meet, May 12, at Edinburgh [93]. The troubles that ſoon after aroſe prevented the meeting of that parliament. A. D. 1488

The earl of Angus and his partiſans were greatly alarmed at the intended intermarriages between the two royal families. Conſcious of their own guilt, ſuſpecting, or perhaps knowing, that queen Eliſabeth was not ignorant of it, they juſtly dreaded that ſhe would communicate the knowledge of their treaſonable intrigues with her late huſband to her future ſpouſe, and perhaps produce the original treaty of Weſtminſter, A. D. 1483, which would render their guilt evident, and their ruin certain [94]. They determined, therefore, to prevent the intended marriages at any rate, and to dethrone or even deſtroy their ſovereign, as the only means of preventing their own deſtruction. They began by ſpreading the moſt odious calumnies againſt the king, repreſenting him as a blood-thirſty tyrant, becauſe he was then endeavouring to execute the laws againſt traitors, murderers, thieves, and plunderers, according to his promiſe; as an enemy to all his ancient nobility, becauſe he had raiſed John Ramſay of Balmain, an old and faithful ſervant, to be a lord and maſter of the houſehold. The earl of Angus gave out, that the king had formed a plot to deſtroy many of the nobility at the laſt meeting of parliament; had communicated the deſign to him, and deſired his aſſiſtance; than which nothing can be more improbable [95]. Conſpiracy

93 Records of Parliament. 94 See p. 395—397.
95 Buchan. l. 12. p. 237. Godſcroft, p. 228.

A.D. 1488. Theſe, and other calumnies, poiſoned the minds of the common people, and made too great an impreſſion on ſome perſons of rank. Andrew lord Grey, the chief aſſociate of Angus in the affair of Lauder and all his other treaſons, engaged with great ardour in this conſpiracy; and John lord Drummond, though advanced to the peerage only a few weeks before, acted the ſame part. Sir Alexander Hume, afterwards created lord Hume, Patrick Hepburn lord Hailes, with all the gentlemen of the names of Hume and Hepburn, being already obnoxious to the law, entered warmly into the deſign of dethroning the king, to prevent their own condemnation. All the borderers, the moſt warlike people in the kingdom, dreading the execution of the late laws againſt murder, theft, and robbery; and in a word, all vagabonds and outlaws, who feared the puniſhment they knew they deſerved, joined in this conſpiracy, and added greatly to its ſtrength. The earl of Argyle, the biſhop of Glaſgow, and the lord Lyſle, alſo joined this party. The earl of Argyle had lately been deprived of the chancellor's office; the biſhop of Glaſgow had a conteſt with the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the lord Lyſle was at variance with James earl of Buchan, the king's uncle, which might have ſome influence on their conduct on this occaſion [96].

Rebellion. King James, perceiving the impending ſtorm, endeavoured to guard againſt it, by furniſhing the

[96] Ferrer, f. 399. Crawford's Peerage, p. 259. 292.

caſtles

caſtles of Stirling and Edinburgh with every thing neceſſary for their defence. Having committed the cuſtody of the former, and of his three ſons, to James Schaw of Sauchie, in whoſe fidelity he placed the moſt perfect confidence, he embarked at Leith with a ſmall retinue, and landed in Fife. The conſpirators now broke out into open rebellion, ſeized part of the king's baggage, and ſome boxes of his money at Leith, and took the caſtle of Dunbar by ſurpriſe, in which they found money, arms, and ammunition[97]. A. D. 1488.

The king proceeded northward, by Aberdeen, to Inverneſs, iſſuing proclamations to all his ſubjects in thoſe parts to join his ſtandard on a certain day. Theſe proclamations were favourably received; the earl of Crawford who had been lately created duke of Montroſe, the earls of Huntly, Errol, Athol, Rothes, Sutherland, Caithneſs, and Mariſchal, with the lords Forbes, Ogilvie, Fraſer, and all the chieftains of the north (except the lords Gray and Drummond), applied themſelves to raiſe their followers to ſupport their ſovereign[98]. At Inverneſs, James gave a freſh proof of his merciful and forgiving diſpoſition, by pardoning the lord Crichton (who there threw himſelf at his feet), though he had been one of his moſt inveterate enemies[99]. But when he was thus employed, he received intelligence that overwhelmed him with ſurpriſe and ſorrow. The king retires into the north.

[97] Pitſcottie, p. 86, 87. Hawthornden, p. 110.
[98] Ferrer. l. 400. [99] Hawthornden, p. 112.

When

A. D. 1488.

The prince delivered to the rebels.

When the conſpirators aſſembled their forces, they found themſelves ſtrong and well appointed, but without any perſon they could propoſe to ſubſtitute in the place of the prince they intended to dethrone; and without this they knew they could hardly hope for ſucceſs. Having caſt their eyes on the king's eldeſt ſon, as in all reſpects fitteſt for their purpoſe, they found means to open a correſpondence with the governor of Stirling caſtle, and by great bribes and greater promiſes, prevailed upon him to betray his important truſt, and deliver the prince into their hands at Linlithgow [100]. As the prince was only about fifteen years of age at this time, it would not be difficult to deceive him by ſpecious arguments, particularly by threatening (as we are told they did), that if he did not join them, they would ſubject the kingdom to the Engliſh [101].

Pacification of Blackneſs.

As ſoon as the king received the news of this unhappy and unexpected event, he returned to the ſouth with ſuch troops as had joined him, directing the chieftains in thoſe parts to follow him. Being wafted with his army over the Forth by the famous ſir Andrew Wood of Largo, he encamped at Blackneſs, within a few miles of Linlithgow, the head-quarters of the inſurgents. There he was joined by the earl of Glencairn, the lords Erſkine, Maxwell, Ruthven, ſir Thomas Semple, and ſir Alexander Boyde, with their followers,

[100] Pitſcottie, p. 87, 88. Hawthornden, p. 111, Buchan. p. 238.
[101] Buchan, p. 238.

which

which rendered his army ſuperior to that of his enemies. But James, naturally timid and averſe to war, entered into a negotiation with the adverſe party; and having given a commiſſion to the biſhop of Aberdeen, the earls of Huntly and Mariſchal, the lord Glamis and Alexander Lindſay, to treat with the biſhop of Glaſgow, the earls of Angus and Argyle, the lord Hailes and Lyſle; theſe commiſſioners concluded a pacification, at Blackneſs, about the middle of May A. D. 1488, on the following terms: 1. The king ſhall be ſupported in his eſtate, honour, and royal authority, that he may adminiſter juſtice impartially to all his ſubjects: 2. The king's moſt noble perſon ſhall be at all times, in honour, ſecurity, and freedom, attended by prelates, earls, lords, and barons, of the greateſt wiſdom, and moſt agreeable to him, and his ſubjects of all parties: 3. All perſons now about the prince, who have offended the king, ſhall make ſuch amends as the above commiſſioners ſhall determine, ſaving their honours, eſtates and lives: 4. The king ſhall allow an honourable appointment to the prince his ſon, to be ſettled by the ſaid commiſſioners: 5. That lords and honourable perſons of wiſdom and virtuous diſpoſitions, ſhall be conſtantly about the prince in his tender age: 6. The prince ſhall at all times love, honour, and obey his father: 7. The lords, and others about the prince, ſhall enjoy the king's favour and grace: 8. The prince ſhall take into his hearty love and favour, all the lords and others, who have ſerved the king in A. D. 1468.

theſe

A. D. 1488. theſe times of trouble: 9. The commiſſioners ſhall endeavour to remove all perſonal and family feuds between the lords of the different parties, particularly that between the earl of Buchan and lord Lyſle [102].

Negotiations with Henry VII.

This wiſe and equitable treaty did not produce the happy effects that might have been expected. As ſeveral important matters ſtill remained to be ſettled by the commiſſioners, both parties, full of mutual diſtruſt, ſtood on their guard, and retained their forces. They both turned their eyes towards England, the one expecting aid, and the other dreading oppoſition from that quarter. Henry VII. appointed commiſſioners, May 5, to treat with thoſe of his moſt dear brother James king of Scotland; and about the ſame time he granted a ſafe conduct to Robert biſhop of Glaſgow, George biſhop of Dunkeld, Colin earl of Argyle, Patrick lord Hailes, Robert lord Lyſle, Matthew Stewart maſter of Darnly, and Alexander maſter of Hume, who were all of the prince's party, to come into England [103]. But no uſe, it is probable, was made of that ſafe-conduct.

The king's march to Stirling.

In the mean time, king James reſided in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and if he had remained quiet in that place till the commiſſioners had ſettled all the points referred to them by the treaty of Blackneſs, and the ambaſſadors expected from the courts of England, France, and Rome, had

[102] Records of parliament. See this treaty at full length, Append No. 3. in the next Volume.

[103] Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 340, 341.

arrived,

arrived, all might have ended well. But either his own inclination, or the advice of his friends, induced him to march to Stirling, as a more agreeable reſidence, and more convenient for forming a junction with his loyal ſubjects in the north; and he met with no interruption in his march, though the two armies muſt have been very near to one another. A. D. 1488.

This imprudent meaſure was diſapproved, it is ſaid, by many of his beſt friends, and gave a great alarm to the adverſe party, who conſidered it as a breach of the pacification of Blackneſs [104]. The king, with his army, took poſſeſſion of the town of Stirling; but he was refuſed admittance into the caſtle: and while he was expoſtulating with the governor on that ſubject, intelligence arrived that the prince's army was advancing to attack him. There was little time for deliberation, and it was raſhly reſolved to fight. The two armies met and engaged, June 11, A. D. 1488, in the fields between the village of Bannockburn and Torwood. The conflict was fierce; but the borderers (of whom the prince's army chiefly conſiſted), being better armed, and more uſed to arms than their enemies, ſoon threw the royal army into confuſion. The king endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight; but riding down a ſteep road in the village of Bannockburn, he fell from his horſe, and was carried into a mill, where he was diſcovered and ſlain by

Battle of Stirling, and the king's death.

[104] Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 83.

ſome

A. D. 1488. ſome of the purſuers [105]. Thus periſhed this unfortunate prince, in the prime of life, when he had reigned almoſt twenty-nine years, and lived thirty-five years and five months. He was buried in the abbey-church of Cambuſkenneth, near the remains of his queen; by whom he left three ſons, viz. James, who ſucceeded him, another James, duke of Roſs, and John earl of Mar.

Character. Few princes have been more calumniated during life, or more miſrepreſented after death, than James III. of Scotland. I ſhall therefore endeavour to draw his character as I have written his hiſtory, with all the attention and impartiality in my power. Ferrerius, who received his information from thoſe who were familiarly acquainted with him, deſcribes his perſon in this manner: "in the beauty of his face, in the ſtrength and "elegant ſhape of his body, and ſymmetry of all "his limbs, he far excelled all the princes of his "time [106]." In perſonal valour he was not conſpicuous; nor did he either delight or excel in riding, tilting, and other martial exerciſes; which ſunk him in the eſtimation of his nobility. By ſome hiſtorians he hath been repreſented as an implacable unrelenting tyrant, reſembling Richard III. in cruelty; than which nothing can be more directly oppoſite to truth [107]; for an exceſſive facility in forgiving the greateſt injuries, and

[105] Records of Parliament. Ferrer. f 400, 401. Buchan. l. 12. p. 239. Hawthornden, p. 116. Pitſcottie, p. 90.

[106] Ferrer. f. 401. [107] Buchan. l. 12. p 235—237.

pardoning

pardoning the greateſt crimes, was the moſt fatal defect in his character, the chief cauſe of his own calamities, and of all the diſorders of his reign. Of this his parliaments frequently complained, and intreated him to abſtain from granting pardons with ſo much eaſe, and to ſuffer juſtice to take its courſe [108]. Though he was haraſſed by a ſucceſſion of rebellions, no perſon of rank was put to death for treaſon, except ſir Alexander Boyde, when James was ſtill young, and entirely in the power of ſir Alexander's enemies. He is accuſed, by the ſame hiſtorian, of incontinence, and that of the moſt criminal kind; but without any proof, and contrary to all probability, as his conſort was the moſt amiable princeſs in the world; and he was almoſt the only prince of his name and family who had no natural children [109]. He was regular in his attendance on the ſervice of the church; took pleaſure in hearing eloquent ſermons, at which he always ſtood bare-headed, and taught his ſons to do the ſame [110]. He had a genius for learning, and was a generous encourager of learned men [111]. But the moſt ſtriking feature in the character of this prince, was his fondneſs for the fine arts, and for thoſe who excelled in them, on whom he beſtowed more of his company, confidence, and favour, than became a king in his circumſtances. This excited in his fierce and haughty nobles, diſlike and contempt of their ſovereign, and indig- A. D. 1488.

[108] Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 71. 74.
[109] Buchan. l. 12. p. 236.
[110] Ferrer. f. 404.
[111] I. l. f. 391.

nation

A. D. 1488. nation againſt the objects of his favour; which produced the moſt pernicious conſequences. In one word, if James III. had flouriſhed in a more poliſhed age and more civilized country, he would have been eſteemed, what he really was, a good and amiable, though not a great prince.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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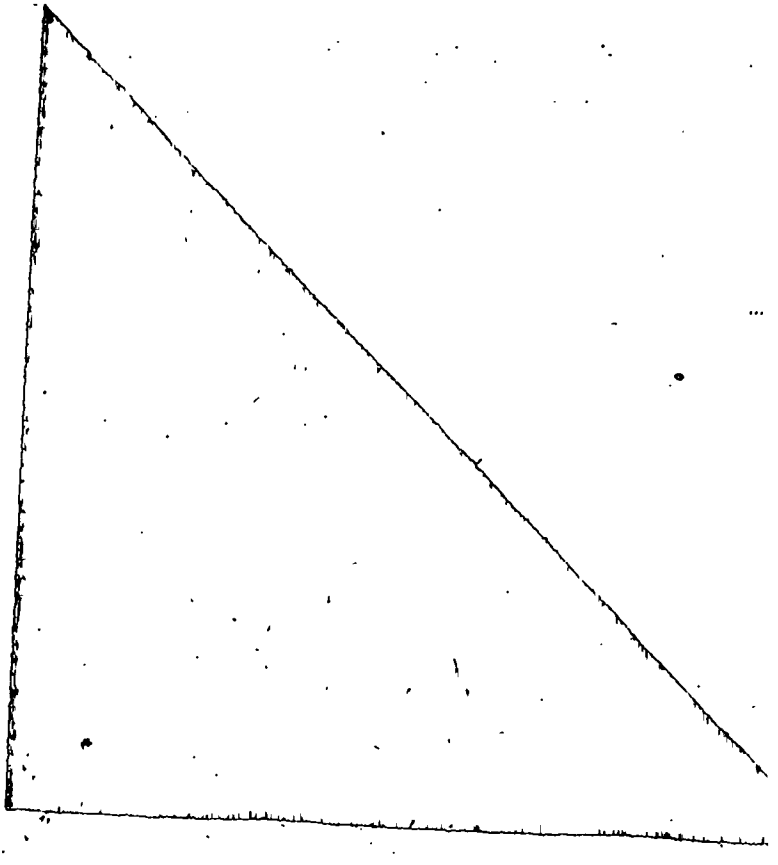

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